THE CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE SERIES

SEXUAL ETHICS

22500273986

THORNTON & SON,
Booksellers,
The Broad

Med
K39476

2/6 Nd.

THE CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE SERIES

EDITED BY HAVELOCK ELLIS

SEXUAL ETHICS : A Study of Borderland Questions

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

https://archive.org/details/b28096290

58937

SEXUAL ETHICS

A Study of Borderland Questions

By

ROBERT MICHELS

Professor of Political Economy and Statistics at the University of Basle, and Honorary Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Turin

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN BY

EDEN & CEDAR PAUL

LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
RUSKIN HOUSE, 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.1
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

(*All rights reserved*)

Originally published in Italian under the title "I limiti della morale sessuale" by Fratelli Bocca, Turin, 1912

First published in English 1914

WELLCOME INSTITUTE LIBRARY
Coll. welMOmec
Call No. WM

PREFACE TO ENGLISH EDITION.

In former times England was a country in which sexual problems—although, as everywhere, they were then exiled from the domain of science—had a free right of entry into the field of letters. During the nineteenth century, however, for reasons which cannot here be discussed, England became fiercely hostile to all literary study or discussion of questions of sex. Whilst elsewhere, and above all in France, Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia, there sprang into existence a new literature, in part fictional, and in part scientific, dealing, under infinite shades of tendency and with an almost maternal care, with the supreme problems of the human sexual life, England appeared to veil its countenance before such problems. The door was wrathfully slammed in the face of these inopportune and undesired guests.

Of late years, however, there has been a change. Men of courage and of insight, in science as well as in literature, have devoted themselves to the establishment of a better order, not only by the method of critical revolt, but also by the method of research, and have sought to unfold the inner philosophy of the relations between the sexes. It

results that England, which not so long ago was the hindmost of the nations in matters of sexual investigation, now stands in the first rank.

The modest book which to-day, not without hesitation, I offer to the English-speaking world, is the work of a man who in inclinations, blood, tastes, and the happenings of his life, unites elements from three nations to which he is profoundly attached—Germany, France, and Italy. But to England he is a stranger, and his book, he fears, may manifest this in respect of form or of content. He has confidence, none the less, in the magnanimity of the British people, from whom, like so many before him, he ventures to demand the right of asylum.

ROBERT MICHELS.

TURIN, *January 1914.*

PREFACE.

THIS book is the outcome of the author's observations throughout a long period of years. From early youth onwards he has devoted much and arduous reflection to the problems of sex. In his economic and historical studies, concerned as these have necessarily been with man as he is, he has always kept in view also the question of what man is destined to become. During the years of his university career, alike under the steel-grey skies of the iron Germans, in the violet atmosphere of Parisian life in the Quartier Latin, and under the ardent sun of the inspired children of Italy, he has always been at work in one way or another upon the same intractable problems—upon the attempt to reconcile youthful love with elderly morals.

This work thus consists of empirical observations, psychological and sociological in character. These observations are not presented in any strictly scientific form, by which I mean to imply that although I refer again and again to the acquirements of the various social sciences, I avoid as far as possible the use of statistical and tabular methods, and the employment of a jargon unintelligible to the ordinary cultured reader. Those who understand

the value to the sexual psychologist of the masterworks of belletristric literature will not be astonished by the fact that in the footnotes I so often refer to passages in the writings of poets and novelists. Werner Sombart, the political economist, comparing the scientific expert with the poet, says with perfect truth, "The work of either differs from that of the other far less than people would have us believe. The methods of presentation differ, but not the matter which is presented. When we hold fast to the idea that all classification of concepts, all systemification of ideas, all formulation of general laws, and the like, are nothing more than technical adjuvants in the study of human destinies, we shall be disinclined to agree with our professors in the importance they attach to the matter of external form. When such a writer as Zola, profoundly aware of his responsibilities, gains an imaginative insight into the inmost nature of the life of banking and the stock-market, into the mining and railroad industries, into the working conditions of our great shops and factories, and when he presents his results to us in an artistic form, does not this display a thousand times more true 'understanding' than that which we find in the arid if learned treatise of some dry-as-dust professor, who fails, for all his pains, to say anything really relevant to the matter in hand?"[1]

[1] Sombart, "Karl Marx und die soziale Wissenschaft," *Archiv f. Sozialw.*, vol. xxvi., No. 2, p. 449.

What Sombart writes of economic facts naturally applies with even greater force to psychological and sexual-psychological analyses. These fall within the true province of the poet and the novelist, and it is a field which has been cultivated by both to notable effect, although their work in this department has not hitherto received sufficient recognition. These considerations notwithstanding, I venture to hope that my book is not devoid of scientific importance, inasmuch as it has been my aim to discuss certain special problems which are proper subjects of scientific study, although their scientific study has not hitherto been adequately pursued.

In conclusion, a frank statement is desirable. This book is not written for those who believe themselves to have already attained finality in the solution of the problems of sexual morality upon the basis of some preconceived dogma—be that dogma Christian and Biblical, Darwinian and Hæckelian, libertarian or libertinist. Its aim is rather to serve as the meeting-place of a small group of selected and important problems which press themselves upon our attention and urgently demand solution. The reader must learn to know these problems, must examine them for himself. The first premise in this investigation is not merely the recognition that these problems exist, but the recognition that they are unsolved. From most other books dealing with like questions, this work differs above all in the fact that the author, since he

deals mainly with borderland questions, has drawn the necessary logical inference (notwithstanding his own inclination towards clear affirmation or denial, and apart from a few cases in which he has felt morally compelled to pass judgments and to express convictions), that he should rather question than answer, rather state problems than solve them.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE TO ENGLISH EDITION - - - - - v

PREFACE - - - - - - - - - - - vii

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS - - - - - - - 1

Rights and Limits of Erotic Literature—Foreign Terminology and its Function in the Language of Eroticism—Frankness of Expression as a means towards the Moralisation of the Erotic Life.

SEXUAL EDUCATION - - - - - - - - - 15

Dangers of Sexual Education—Need for Suitable Methods—The School or the Home?—Plain Answers to Plain Questions rather than Detailed Instruction—Campaign against Conventional Lies in Sexual Matters.

PART I.

GENERAL BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF THE EROTIC LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

HUNGER AND LOVE - - - - - - - - - 26

Necessity and Intensity of Sexual Love in a State of Nature—Urgency of Sexual Need as displayed in Popular Catchwords—Undiscriminating Character of the Sexual Impulse when Conventional Restraints are thrown aside—Ethical Limitations of the Right to Sexual Activity—The Primary Ethical Foundation of every Sexual Relationship must be the deliberate Consent of both Participants in the Love-Act.

PAGE

CHAPTER II.

NATURE AND LIMITS OF MODESTY - - - - - 42

Origin of Modesty in the Fact that Primitive Woman was a form of Booty—The Sentiment of Shame not Instinctive but Acquired—Instinctive Shamelessness of Woman—Professional Shamelessness and Occasional Shame—Modesty as manifested in Different Classes of Society—Shame in the Sexual Act—The Isolation of the Love-Pair.

PART II.

BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF THE EXTRA-CONJUGAL EROTIC LIFE

CHAPTER I.

COMPARATIVE SEXUAL PSYCHOLOGY IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES - - - - - - - - - 63

International Character of Love—International Multiplicity of its Manifestations—Publicity of Love in Germany and Holland—Alcove-love in Italy—Contrast between Prostitution in Paris and Prostitution in Germany—Comradely Type of Prostitute—Sense of Honour and of Human Self-respect in the Grisette.

CHAPTER II.

INTERMEDIATE STAGES OF SEXUAL MORALITY IN WOMAN - - - - - - - - - - 90

Unscientific Character of Sharp Delimitations in Matters of Sexual Morals—"Legitimate" and "Illegitimate" Children—"Respectable" Prostitution—Brothel Workrooms—Demi-viergeisme in Public Dancing Saloons.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROSTITUTE AS THE "OLD MAID" OF THE PROLETARIAT - - - - - - - - 102

Rarity of the Old-maid Type in the Working Classes—Need for Early Marriage in the Proletariat—Difficulties of attaining to Marriage in the Middle and Upper Classes, and the consequent Need for Prostitution—Etiology of Prostitution—Ineffective and Effective Methods for the Abolition of Prostitution.

PART III.

PRE-CONJUGAL BORDERLAND PROBLEMS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

DUALISM OF WOMAN IN PRIMARY SEXUAL LOVE - 120

The Shame of the Act of Unclothing—The Duel of the Sexes—The Sadistic Note in the Sport of the Sexes—Woman's Indecision in Face of the Sexual Act—Consent Simulating Reluctance, and Refusal Implying Consent—Dangers of this Phenomenon to the Man and to the Woman—Paradise or the Penitentiary?—Psycho-Physics of the Act of Rape—Ignorance of Girls regarding the Nature and Intensity of the Male Sexual Impulse—Limits of Responsibility in Erotic Relationships—Contributory Culpability of the Violated Woman.

CHAPTER II.

VALUE AND LIMITS OF CHASTITY - - - - 134

Ethical Aspects of Extra-Conjugal Sexual Intercourse in Man and in Woman—Duplex Sexual Morality—Monogamy as a Sexual Ideal—Polygamy as the Fountain of Youth—Masculine Intactness and the Interest of the Community at large—Comparatively trifling Moral Value of the Men who remain Chaste To-day—Problem of the Relationship of Precedent Sexual Experiences to Love—Demand for Virginity in Women—Variations in the Erotic Needs in the Course of Human Life.

CHAPTER III.

BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF BETROTHAL - - - 177

Moral and Physical Disadvantages of Abrupt Transitions in the Sexual Life—The Maiden's Anxiety on the Wedding Night—Dangers of Free Love—Marriage as the Ideal.

PART IV.

BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF THE CONJUGAL SEXUAL LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

OUTWARD MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SUBJECTION OF WOMAN IN MARRIAGE - - - - - - 194

Awakening of the Consciousness of the Rights of Woman—Analysis of a German Betrothal Card—Feudal and Masculine Supremacy—Woman's honorific Titles before and after Marriage—Woman's Change of Name on Marriage—The Mother and the Transmission of her Name to the Offspring.

CHAPTER II.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF LOVE—THE MONOGAMOUS TAMING OF POLYGAMOUS TENDENCIES - - 212

Sexual Character of Love—The Unwholesome Craving for a "Pure" Woman—The Progress of Sexual Love and its Conquests in the Physiological Domain—Habituation in the Amatory Life—Polygamous Tendencies of the Male—The Factor of Variety and its Rights—The Maintenance of Vivacity in the Sexual Relationships of Married Life as a Prophylaxis against Adultery—The Æsthetic Postulate.

CHAPTER III.

CONJUGAL PROCREATION: ITS RIGHTS AND ITS DUTIES 232

Beauty of the Paternal Instinct—Responsible Character of the Act of Procreation—Ethical Need for the Limitation of the Family: on account of Poverty; for the Preservation of Property—High Death-rate in Large Families—Destruction of Conjugal Happiness owing to the Decline of Erotic Capacity in Woman—Lack of Value to the Higher Civilisation of the "Eternal Mother"—Prompt Procreation after Marriage and its Deleterious Consequences—Right to the Use of Artificial Means for the Prevention of Conception as a Logical Inference from the Right of the Individual to the Free Disposal of his own Person—Non-existence of the Unconceived Infant—Limitation of Population in Relation to

PAGE

the World Economy—Excess of Population and National Expansion—Population in Relation to Average Wealth—Conscious Procreation as a Criterion of Civilisation, and as the Unwitting Enemy of Jingoism—The Proposal that the Limitation of the Family should be effected by a Postponement of the Age at Marriage; its Refutation—"Prudential Restraint" in Married Life as a Method for the Limitation of the Family—Sexual Love an end in itself—Preventive Intercourse and Crime—The Prevention of Conception purely a Technical and Mechanical Question—Conscious Procreation as a Factor in the Process of the Emancipation of Mankind from the Dominion of the Blind Forces of Nature.

CHAPTER IV.

CERTAIN SHOALS IN THE WATERS OF MARRIED LIFE—INTELLECTUAL CULTIVATION IN WOMAN AND ITS LIMITS - - - - - - - - 265

Conflict between Profession and Motherhood—Conflict between Intellectual Cultivation and Maternal Duties—Conflict between the Woman as Mother and the Woman as Wife—Concentration of the Mother on the Child—Fatherhood and Motherhood in their Psycho-physiological Relationships to the Child—Motherhood as an Episode in Woman's Life—Superfluous Maternal Occupations—Necessity for the Care of Household and Children—Simplification of these Problems through the Collaboration of the Husband—Woman at the Parting of the Ways, where she has to choose between Husband and Child.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II., PART III. - - - 283

INDEX - - - - - - - - - - 289

SEXUAL ETHICS.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

Rights and Limits of Erotic Literature—Foreign Terminology and its Function in the Language of Eroticism—Frankness of Expression as a means towards the Moralisation of the Erotic Life.

THE ethical relationships of the sexual life are thorny and difficult questions. Before attempting to summarise the general lines of discussion of these borderland questions, I shall venture upon two concise affirmations to serve as a basis for the whole argument.

The first of these affirmations is that no one can possibly fail to admit the universality of the phenomenon of sex. There is no other question, in fact, upon which everyone has so much first-hand experience. If we except infants-in-arms, and a few invalids and very old persons, the whole of our race is subordinated to the phenomena of sex as a means of suffering or a means of joy. Among all the varied manifestations of human life, it may be said that sexuality is the only one with which all are familiar, and in regard to which none are altogether incompetent. Thus it would be superfluous to open our discussion with a proof of the importance or the actuality of the facts of the sexual life. The most

deplorable intellectual or physical inertia will not suffice to hold in leash the luxuriant vivacity of the sexual instinct, which often breaks free none the less. This instinct, in such cases, stands firm like a column amid the ruins of a pagan temple, the rest of which has been destroyed in the passage of the years or by the devastation of war. This instinct is the one which remains active when all other psycho-physical manifestations are dead or dormant. Hence I do not hesitate to affirm that the discussion of sexual problems necessarily arouses interest, open, it may be, in a few instances, and secret in the majority, but fervent in all.

My second affirmation is equally self-evident, and is based upon wide general experience alike practical and scientific. It is my firm conviction that it would be a great gain to our moral life to break the silence which surrounds the sexual question—above all, in such countries as Italy and England, lands where in so many respects opinion is liberal and advanced. On moral grounds it is necessary to raise a vigorous protest against the practice of hushing-up. It is my contention that in these matters, in which people are accustomed to speak in half-tones or in whispers, we should rather raise our voices, and use words that cannot possibly be misunderstood, avoiding alike the immodesty of false shame and the spurious purity of drawing-room innuendoes. It is necessary to bear in mind that to the man of science no doors should be closed, and no realms of thought should be denied. In other words, I maintain the profound truth of the saying, "to the pure all things are pure." Montaigne asks with perfect justice: "Qu'a faict l'action genitale

aux hommes, si naturelle, si necessaire et si juste, pour n'en oser parler san vergougne, et pour l'exclure des propos serieux et reglez? Nous prononcerons hardiement *tuer*, *desrobber*, *trahier;* et cela, nous n'oserions qu'entre les dents."[1] We must bring ourselves on this question to the attitude of my little daughter, for, seeing for the first time a Greek statue, whose nudity was veiled in a barbarously prudish manner, she angrily exclaimed, "Oh, how horrid, dadda, to put that leaf just there!" A primary aim of this study is to wage war upon all such fig-leaves, for the author is convinced that to do this will be advantageous, not æsthetically alone, but also ethically, and above all scientifically; for accurate scientific researches are impossible, if the thought-process, etiolated from conventional fear, makes use of convenient subterfuges to shun the plain light of day.

Erotic matters, like all weighty and serious questions, must be discussed with perfect freedom. *Per se*, everything can be said, and ought to be said, provided that every word is guided by an austere will, and provided that the phraseology is as choice as possible. Sincerity, when accompanied by grace, does not merely suffice to give an artistic stamp to life, but induces a clearness which guides us as near to a solution as the limitations of human intelligence render possible.

[1] Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, Livre III., Chapitre V., Paris, 1828, Tardieu-Denesle, Tome cinquième, p. 63.—"How has it come to pass that the genital action of human beings, so natural, so necessary, and so right, is a matter of which we cannot speak without shame, and one with which we cannot deal seriously and sensibly? We speak boldly of *killing*, *thieving*, and *betraying*; but this other we mention only with bated breath."

Rigorous legislative measures may be suitably employed against the novel, and also against the alleged scientific treatise, written in the sole aim of inducing sexual excitement—all the more in view of the fact that such publications are extremely profitable in the commercial sense. As Friedrich Theodor Vischer rightly points out, the meanest wretch is sure to gain his ends when he works with sexual stimuli, for, however thick-skinned the reader, he has sexual nerves none the less.[1]

At least eighty per cent. of the literary productions of the sexual order which are exposed for sale in different towns or countries—openly in some, secretly in others, according as social customs and police regulations vary—might be committed to the flames without hesitation, and without giving the watch-dogs of democracy the right to accuse of high treason against art those who destroy such garbage. It is true that among such publications are some written with the best intentions in the world, which yet convey a certain sulphurous flavour; having been condemned by the less intelligent zealots of the purity campaign, they are for this very reason sought out by profit-hunting publishers, and their sale is pushed on the ground that they are books full of a "spice" they do not really possess. It need hardly be said that the crusade against obscene literature must not be directed solely from a one-sided moral point of view, but must be guided also by artistic criteria. Some years ago, in the loggia of the inner court of the Uffizi in Florence, a hawker offered me an album of prohibited photographs of the nude,

[1] Fr. Th. Vischer, *Auch Einer*, 3rd ed., Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1884, vol. ii., p. 364.

depicting the sexual act in a number of different positions. In addition to nineteen really repulsive caricatures of the love-act, there was one which, in view of the circumstances, might have been expected to be no less vulgar; and yet, owing to the physical beauty of the two figures, the artistic grace of their pose, and the expression of a certain inward spirituality, this last was a really fine picture. I still blush with anger to recall the fact that in an access of false shame I drove the hawker away, and thus deprived myself of the possession of something which would have furnished permanent artistic enjoyment.

Above all, in this connection, it is necessary to bear one fact in mind, namely, that it is impossible by means of the campaign against obscenity to expel sexual offences from the world, or even greatly to limit their extent. The purity fanatics regard obscene literature—which, be it said in passing, they define in a pietistic and petty-bourgeois sense—as a work of the devil; and they believe that by burning such literature they will conjure the devil himself out of the world. They may be compared with those backwoodsmen who think that the existence of doctors is responsible for the causation of disease; like the wiseacres, who contend that the increase in crime results from the increasing number of lawyers; or like that philosopher who became insane, and had come to believe that the rapid course of time and the consequent coming of old age was the work of watchmakers. The war against pornography will not be decided by the prosecution of the pornographers, but by a cleansing, and above all, if the expression be permitted, by a *sincerification* of human sexual relationships; and, in view of the fact that these

relationships are no more than one important link in the chain of human relations in general, by a sanation of life as a whole, and not least in its economic sphere.

It is characteristic of our time, that when we want to speak of delicate subjects, we are often compelled to use foreign phraseology. In Germany, for instance, they speak of the *demi-monde*, of a *roué*, of an *Alphonse* (instead of using the good German word *Zuhälter*); in Italy, as in England, the same type of individual is called a *souteneur* (replacing, as far as Italian is concerned, the native terms *ruffiano* and *mezzano*);[1] in France, towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, to denote a debauchee, in place of the native terms, *libertin*, *débauché*, or *noceur*, the word of English origin *lovelace*[2] was for a time current. The French terms, *cocotte*, *chanteuse*, *viveur*, have found their way into all the other languages of Europe; in Italian, for instance, it would to-day produce a ridiculous impression to speak of these respectively as *pollastrina*, *briffalda*, and *vivitore*.[3] These linguistic practices do not signify that in Germany, France, Italy, or England, the things to which these exotic names are applied were before lacking, or that they were first recognised to exist at

[1] In individual Italian towns we find special terms, and very expressive ones, to denote a man maintained by a prostitute out of her earnings. In Rome, such a one is known as *magnaccia* (glutton); in Naples, *ricottaro* (cheese-maker); in Turin, *gargagnan* (untranslatable term).

[2] This term originated from the name Lovelace, one of the principal characters in Richardson's romance, *Clarissa Harlowe* (1748).

[3] We take these crude attempts at the translation of French erotic terms into Italian from a critical article by Guglielmo Alterocca: "Il magistrato della lingua ("The Mastery of Language"), *Avanti*, anno xv, No. 21.

the time when the foreign word was imported to describe them. The fact that the article of local manufacture was well enough known long before is sufficiently proved, inasmuch as in all cases alike native terms were in regular use until driven out by the foreign importation.

In speaking of such subjects it is considered more elegant and less repulsive to use foreign phraseology; the employment of native terms is felt to be coarse, and to smack of the gutter. In a German drawing-room, we may speak of a man's *maîtresse*, but the word *Metze* is banned, as in Italian the word *druda*. At the same time, by the use of the imported expression, the understanding of its significance is often restricted to a small cultured circle, and not being common to all is no longer felt to be vulgar. English, Germans, Italians, and Slavs will cheerfully and freely repeat lewd anecdotes, verses, and proverbs in the French tongue, things which only in the most intimate talk among men they would venture to express in their native language. Medical practitioners, in conversation with educated patients, do indeed speak about venereal diseases and other matters relating to the sexual life, in the phraseology of their native tongue, if only for the reason that they themselves have forgotten their Latin, while the patients know little or nothing of that language. But even then it is only the verbs and the adjectives for which genuinely native forms are used, whereas the noun-substantives are discreetly veiled and elevated by the employment of a Greco-Latin terminology.

In his lascivious romance, *Les bijoux indiscrets*, Diderot did not venture to incur the wrath either of

the public or of the censorship by recounting in the French tongue all the love-wanderings of the Sultan's favourite, some of which really overstep the boundary. For this reason, wherever the lewdness of the story approaches a climax, he breaks off the French narrative, and for four or five pages diverges into the Latin, the English, the Italian or the Spanish tongue, according as his heroine is enjoying her experiences in one country or the other.[1] By this means he at once eludes the vigilance of the censor, and limits the circle of readers of these particular passages to a few polyglots. I myself bought for twopence, from one of the best known second-hand booksellers on the Quai de l'Institut in Paris, a fine old edition of this work in several volumes, after it had been handled and rejected by hundreds of young soldiers and students, of whom it is probable that three in every four were in search of precisely this sort of matter. To secure such a work as this, spicy to a degree beyond all their hopes, they would doubtless have spent their last penny, had not the treasure been hidden from their eyes in a foreign tongue.

The safest foundation for the treatment of sexual matters is to be found in a natural way of thinking and feeling. In a nation which regards the sexual impulse as natural and truly human there will be less tendency to the misuse of that impulse. For this reason, though perhaps in many respects more sensual than the northerner, the southerner is less inclined to obscenity and pornography. A glance at the sexual life of Italy will convince us of the truth of this view.

[1] Paris, 1797, pp. 223 *et seq.*

In a biography of the composer Johannes Brahms, we read that it was an especial delight to him when in Italy to pass month after month among people "who do not need a veneer after the manner of the upper classes of society to enable them to remain graceful and charming in most of the relationships of life, people who are able to conduct themselves naturally in all circumstances, and to do this spontaneously and without calculation."[1] Naturalness is in truth the leading characteristic of the Italian temperament. It is not meant to imply that this naturalness is always identical with honesty. Impostors are perhaps commoner in Italy than elsewhere. But the method of imposture is natural, and one might almost say innocent; and on the other hand, by a logical outcome, we rarely encounter in Italy the complicated frauds, carried out with the aid of a thousand precautions, sophistications, and refinements, which so often provide work for the police of Vienna, Paris, Berlin, and London, and above all of Anglo-Saxon America.

A frank naturalness in all things is a hereditary endowment of the Italian nation. There is no other country in the world in which æsthetic ideas, the concepts of beauty and ugliness, play so large a part in popular life as they do in Italy. A zealous and cultured socialist candidate for parliament, doctor by profession and Jew by race, found his electoral campaign rendered practically impossible by the fact that his physically unpleasing personality was too antipathetic to electors thirsting not only for freedom but also for beauty. Nowhere is a handsome man so publicly admired, nowhere an ugly one

[1] J. P. Widmann, "Brahms in Italien," *Die Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. xxiii., No 10 (June, 1897), p. 62.

regarded so obviously, not perhaps with scorn, but with pity, as in the Apennine peninsula. The socialist doctor just mentioned, in a friendly circle, expressed his wish to take part in a German congress; in all seriousness he was advised to abandon this intention, lest the Germans should be presented with so unfavourable an idea of the beauty of Italian manhood. Here is another example. About fifteen years ago the writer visited Venice in the company of a German friend, not gifted by nature, perhaps, with the graces of Apollo, and whose many years' membership of a students' corps[1] was documented by a horribly scarred visage. Again and again women and children crowded round the table where we were sitting at coffee, stared open-mouthed at my friend, and then exclaimed, not with any intention of being offensive, but simply because no other way occurred to them of voicing an incontrovertible fact, "Ma com'è brutto costui!" ("My! what an ugly one!")

Conventional hypocrisy is to a large extent unknown in Italy. The sagacious critic Vischer, who certainly cannot be reckoned among the injudicious foreign enthusiasts for all things Italian, expresses a just admiration for the "unchangeable antique simplicity," the "natural pathos," and the "inborn nobility of the customs" of those "beings at once both spiritual and natural," the Italians, among whom, in his view, affectation is unknown.[2] This is actually

[1] These corps are students' clubs, each comprising all the students of a particular faculty. They are regulated by certain conventional laws, which govern their drinking bouts, and which force the members to take part in duels with adversaries selected by lot, and usually belonging to some other corps.

[2] Fr. Th. Vischer, *Kritische Gänge*. New Series, 1861-66, vol. i. pp. 178 *et seq.*, and vol. vi. pp. 169 *et seq.*

the case. To the stranger passing the night in a hospice, the nun will indicate the privy, in the most simple way in the world, without a blush, and without thought of the need for one. At a dinner party, at which the author was one of the guests, the host—he was, it is true, a medical man—in the most professional tone, before we sat down to table, indicated to us all the whereabouts of the water-closet. Not one of the guests was in the least embarrassed. Similarly, in talking about sexual matters, Italians show little prudery. In speaking to a pregnant woman, to allude to her condition, even if she is a stranger, is regarded as in no way improper. In Piedmont, among all classes of society, there still exists a remarkable linguistic usage, whereby the expression of "having a baby," is avoided by speaking of "buying a baby." *La signora A. B. ha oggi comprato un bambino* (Mrs. A. B. has bought a baby to-day). This is here the regular locution. But it is an isolated conventional insincerity limited to this particular region,[1] and contrasts therefore all the more strongly with the general freedom of speech in these matters. Stories for children like that current in Germany about babies being brought by storks, or like those current in England about the baby being found in the cabbage-patch or brought by the doctor in his bag, are unknown in Italy. In southern Italy, not the least attempt is made to conceal sexual matters from growing boys and girls. Generally speaking, the Italian makes singularly little circum-

[1] It must be admitted that during the last ten years this absurd phrase about "buying a baby," at first restricted to the prudish circles of the Piedmontese minor official class, has become more generally diffused throughout Italy.

stance in his account of matters relating to childbirth. A French socialist woman, travelling through Italy on her way to the Peace Congress held in Rome in September, 1904, was much astonished to hear a pure-minded Italian girl, commenting on the birth of an heir to the throne, make use of the expression, "*Questa volta la regina ha fatto un maschio*" ("This time, at any rate, the Queen has made a boy"). The Frenchwoman speaks of such a mode of expression as *une brutale précision de la langue italienne.*[1] In such matters, however, Italians invariably speak with this same "brutal precision." Italian women do not "have" a baby, they "make" one; and they make either a little boy or a little girl. Even in good society women are not ashamed to speak of this natural process in plain terms.

The origin and manifestation of Italian candour are aptly depicted by Wilhelm Müller in the following words: "It is to this intimate and uninterrupted contact with nature that the Roman people owe that freedom and frankness, that clarity and nudity in word and deed, which contrast so strongly with the moral and social conventionality of the people of the north, with their confirmed tendency to cover many natural phenomena with 'decent' veils. . . . Roman innocence continues to employ clear and precise words where the northerner blushes, stammers, lowers his eyes, and grows mute."[2] For this reason, the foreigner is apt to exceed just measure in his attempts to pass judgment on things Italian. In former days,

[1] Louise Georges-Renard, "En Voyage de Lugano à Rome," *Petite République Socialiste.* September 27th, 1904.

[2] Wilhelm Müller, *Rom, Römer, und Romerinnen.* Berlin, 1820, Duncker und Humblot, vol. ii., p. 31.

strangers frequently condemned the unbridled manners of the Italian carnival—an institution now unfortunately in process of decay. When we speak of unbridled manners, these words must be taken in their plain and literal meaning, namely that the Italian masks at carnival time are "unbridled," that is to say that they then give free indulgence to the sentiment of joy in life which at ordinary times is strictly reined in; the phrase must by no means be understood in the sense that at this season there is any marked increase in offences against what are called good morals, or in crimes against property or person—a fact which every experienced lawyer will endorse. In the jollity of the festival, indeed, the Italian throws seriousness aside and becomes expansive, knowing nothing of philistine reserve. But this unrestrainedness is not to be identified with loss of decency. To quote the finely conceived expression of one of the ablest foreign observers of Italian life, the German, Victor Hehn, "the Italian gives freely of his holiest, because of his inward conviction that after all it is inalienable";[1] and Heinrich Heine refers to the "unrestrained refinement of the Italian people."[2] In Italy, outspokenness is not, as it is in other countries, a sign of defective education, an indication of lack of good breeding; it indicates simply a just spiritual equipoise.

Love itself, in so far as it manifests itself in public,[3] is in Italy always treated gracefully, and, notwith-

[1] Victor Hehn, *Italien, Ansichten und Streiflichter.* (Italy, Views and Sketches). Berlin, 1879, 2nd ed., Gebrüder Borntträger, p. 85.

[2] Heinrich Heine, *Reisebilder, II; Italien.* Complete works, Hamburg, 1890, Hoffmann und Campe, vol. vi., p. 47.

[3] Vide infra, p. 21.

standing the vivacity of the people, always worthily. Arndt[1] as a young man was struck with this fact. He writes, "The external relationships between the sexes [in Italy] are always delicate and subtle; people here do not give the rein to their feelings in that brutish manner which the German is accustomed to display, exhibiting his passion with gross emphasis."

[1] Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Bruchstücke aus einer Reise durch einen Theil Italiens im Herbst und Winter*, 1798-99 ("Notes on an Italian Journey during the Autumn and Winter of 1798-99"), vol. i. p. 181. H. Gräff, Leipzig, 1801.

SEXUAL EDUCATION.

Dangers of Sexual Education—Need for Suitable Methods—The School or the Home?—Plain Answers to Plain Questions rather than Detailed Instruction—Campaign against Conventional Lies in Sexual Matters.

It is sometimes asserted that the enlightenment of children in sexual matters necessarily involves one of two evil results; either they become affected throughout life with an excessive erotic excitability, or else there is instilled into their minds an anxious fear of sex. A modern German writer tells us, "You cannot take a child into a pastry-cook's shop and show it an abundance of the tarts and cakes of which children are so passionately fond, without giving it one or two to eat; such a test would be too much for the childish understanding. When dealing with things which childish greediness makes dangerous, it is no use speaking mysteriously to a child of carious teeth and of a disordered stomach; it is better to keep the temptation altogether out of sight. Sexual timidity is a better safeguard against licence than a detailed knowledge of sexual matters."[1]

It is, however, an arbitrary assumption that the

[1] Hans Dankberg, *Vom Wesen der Moral, Eine Physik der Sitten* ("The Nature of Morality. The Physics of Ethics.") Stuttgart, 1910, Hoffmann, p. 256.

aim of sexual enlightenment is to impart to children a detailed knowledge of sex. On the contrary, the instructor must do all in his power to avoid throwing too powerful a light upon the erotic process as such. In any case, the curiosity aroused by such a method of instruction will not be more dangerous than complete ignorance, which necessarily leaves children exposed to the wiles of ill-conditioned persons. To keep to the image just quoted, one thing is dangerous above all, and this is to leave children in the dark as to the consequences which may follow from eating the tart, when this tart, sensual experience, cannot possibly be kept out of the hands of any individual with normal sexual faculties, and endowed with a normal sexual inclination. It is a matter of general experience that when any instinctive impulse arises in one altogether unwarned as to the dangers its satisfaction may entail, he hastens to eat gluttonously, and to keep to the metaphor, to ruin his digestion.

In view of these considerations, it must be regarded, not merely as expedient, but as essential, that children and young persons should acquire some general ideas concerning matters of sex; but, granting this, the choice of means of instruction which will do no harm to the immature mind is not a little difficult.

The question arises, who is most fitted to undertake the sexual enlightenment of boys and girls, and whether this can best be effected in the school or in the home. Although the writer does not pretend to give a final answer to these problems, he cannot conceal his opinion that, in the case of boys and girls approaching puberty, more dangerous than enlighten-

ment by the parents is sexual instruction which takes the form of a methodical course on popular medicine imparted in school. Such instruction must either be given by a doctor or by members of the school staff. Now we have a right to feel doubtful which of these two categories of persons is least fitted to undertake this delicate office. Here we are in truth between Scylla and Charybdis. School teachers lack the necessary equipment of knowledge, nor can this be acquired in a few months. On the other hand, in such matters as these, they are not in a position to give unprejudiced instruction. For school teachers, like other men, have had their personal experiences in the field of sex; and, if we may judge from the somewhat rough and unpolished character of the average schoolmaster, these experiences are unlikely, in most cases, to have been particularly happy. Yet nothing could be more natural, more human, than for the master to convey to his pupils the fruit of his own experiences, thus tinged with a bitter pessimism. This pessimism, deeply engraven upon the plastic mind of youth, will induce a tendency to misandry or misogyny, of a most unwholesome character.

In contrast with school teachers, doctors doubtless possess greater scientific experience. But they are utterly devoid of the teaching faculty. Apart from the fact that the typically materialistic, or rather Darwino-Hæckelian, education by which almost without exception the minds of modern medical men are moulded, renders them nearly incapable of understanding the value of the ideal factors of the human character, experience teaches that medical men are apt to ignore in human life, or at least to be

unwilling to recognise there, anything beyond the subject-matter of natural science. The great problem of sexual love, with relations extending throughout the whole vast field of psychology and the extensive territory of social science, is restricted, in the doctor's view, to the simple questions of detail of human reproduction. This is a matter on which I am able to speak with personal knowledge. At the age of fourteen, when I had already for a year past been sexually mature, I was still completely ignorant of many sexual matters. This ignorance on my part gave rise to a disagreeable incident between myself and one of the masters of the school. In the presence of the whole class, in perfect innocence, I asked an embarrassing question, on account of which I was severely punished by the pedagogic wisdom as a shameless and undisciplined boy. My parents, to whom I explained the affair, referred me to our family doctor. This latter, a most estimable person, of whom even to-day I cannot think without real feeling, gave me a long scientific dissertation, in which, as far as I am able after this lapse of time to recall the details, with the aid of plenty of drawings bearing on the question, he revealed to me the internal processes of generation to their culmination in the birth of the child. At that time I understood practically nothing of what he told me, and I left his consulting-room as wise as I had entered it. But I believe that, if the armour of my innocence had been less impenetrable, the doctor's instruction would not have been without ill effect. A companion of the same age as myself, referred in similar circumstances to another medical man, fell the same day into the nets of a prostitute, and, being com-

pletely inexperienced, contracted a serious infectious disorder.

But the worst outcome of sexual enlightment effected on purely medical lines, arises from the nature of the material with which such an enlightment works. Thus, the doctor does not attempt to establish the criteria of normal morality in sexual relationships, but simply endeavours to arouse fear in the youth's mind by depicting in lurid colours the results of sexual excesses. In the best event, he induces chastity only through the fear of syphilis. Thus is fortified a sentiment already far too widely diffused throughout our intellectual and social life, and one hostile to all true progress—the sentiment of cowardice.

The greatest difficulty of all in connection with the work of sexual enlightment concerns not the children but the adults, the teachers not the taught. Adults educated on the old systems find it difficult to free themselves from embarrassment when they have to discuss sexual matters with their juniors; their explanations are thus deprived of all natural spontaneity. Indeed, if there be one matter more than all others in which all affectations and all abruptness must be put aside it is this matter of sexual education. For example, when their daughter begins to menstruate, the father and the mother call her to a solemn conclave, to impart to her in confidence the necessary information. Unless she has been already previously enlightened by others, or is naturally devoid of all squeamishness in such things, this is likely to induce in her sentiments of discomfort, and even of distress, lasting many days; to induce a dangerous revolution in her inner

life, and even cause a sense of shame and disgust which, though weakened by time, will never entirely disappear. A girl for whom, at the age of fifteen or sixteen years, there is lifted for the first time the veil by means of which everything appertaining to the sexual life has hitherto been jealously hidden from her sight, feels a sense of offence, suffers profoundly, believes herself henceforward to be exposed to the desires of all males, to be in their power, like an animal pursued by the hunters; as Paola Lombroso expresses it, their feeling is a personal one, they are "spoils of the chase."[1] The adolescent youth, on the other hand, suddenly enlightened in similar fashion, feels himself made suddenly god-like, foretastes with intoxication the joys of a hitherto unimagined paradise. He thus becomes apt to leap the barriers standing between him and actual experience of the sexual life, and it would be a hard matter to restrain him.

Sexual enlightment, therefore, must not be effected for the first time, and suddenly, at the age of puberty; at the most, at this period, the finishing touches should be given to such enlightment, with a light and delicate hand.

To sum up, the function of this enlightment is essentially negative in character. Our chief concern must be, during the tender epoch of childhood, to avoid inculcating any ideas about the sexual life contrasting with the reality to a greater extent than will be tolerated by the child's own simple imagination. Above all, we must avoid all fables and false statements, such as those about the stork or the cabbage-patch, intended solely to conceal from

[1] Paola Lombroso, "I bambini e la questione sessuale" ("Children and the Sexual Question"). *Tribuna*, May 2nd and 3rd, 1911.

children the mystery of their birth.[1] Let us not manufacture superstitions! This must be the cardinal precept of the healthy sexual education of childhood. In other words, we ought not to wrap things up ostentatiously in order to conceal them from children,[2] and we ought not, generally speaking, to give them detailed and literal instruction in sexual matters; on the other hand, we should not, as is sometimes done, speak altogether unreservedly in their presence. Above all, it is necessary to avoid leading children to think of sexual relations as anything either unnatural or supernatural. If only

[1] An intelligent child who keeps his eyes open will not long allow himself to be humbugged with nonsense of this kind. Witness the case of little Leo recounted in an Italian child's book (Mrs. El., *Leo and Lia*, Florence, 1909, Bemporad, p. 51). A friend having asked the little boy whether his mother had found him in a cabbage or in a flower, he answered with a laugh, "Oh, how silly; my mother found me inside herself."

[2] It would be well to avoid ostentatiousness in the exterior treatment of the sexes. It does harm, in cases in which there is no need for anything of the kind, to throw continually into relief, as is customary, the diversity between the sexes—to insist always that this is proper to a boy, that to a girl, and so on. The normal boy gladly plays with dolls; the normal girl, with toy soldiers. For the elimination of exaggerated sexual differentiation, the coeducation of the sexes is of great value, as it is effected, for example, in the Italian middle schools. I am of opinion that in the ordinary ways of clothing children, sex differences are far too greatly accentuated. Children under ten years of age distinguish between males and females only in so far as the grounds for this distinction are brought too manifestly before their eyes, in so far, so to speak, as the distinction is forced upon them. There is a good story told by Balzac of two children being shown a picture representing Adam and Eve naked in the Garden of Eden. "Which is Adam?" asks François, nudging his sister Marguerite. "How can I tell," says the little girl, "since they have not got their clothes on?" (Honoré de Balzac, *Les Contes Drôlatiques*, Paris, Calman-Lévy, IIIe. Dizaine, p. 242). For those who know the child-soul there is here profound psychological truth.

children can be led in the most gradual manner possible, without any brusque and rapid transitions, to regard sexual phenomena as parts of the natural order, at one with the general laws of life, they will be spared much future vexation and many painful conflicts. Their sexual consciousness must be harmoniously incorporated in their general consciousness of the world and of life, and thus associated the former will develop by a progressive organic growth.

If in our dealings with the child we avoid making a needless mystery of the concerns of the sexual life, the child will make its own little niche for these in its view of things in general, without paying more particular attention to them than it does to all the other secrets of human existence that are impenetrable to the childish understanding. Besides, it is extraordinary how many are the enigmas which not children merely, but adults as well, will endure and accept without worrying their heads to find a solution. The method here propounded is the only one by which we can prevent the artificial direction of the child's thoughts to matters of sex, and by which we can ensure that it will pay no attention to the talk of incompetent, or rather of too competent individuals.

Our first aim, then, must be sincerity towards children; and not to give them direct instruction in sexual matters, which should be reserved for exceptional cases. The atmosphere in which they live ought to be one of luminous candour and truth. The rest will come by itself. As long as the parents have not sought to stuff the child's mind with fables about sex, the child itself, as it grows older, and the desire for knowledge awakens, will turn to its parents for the required information. There will have been no

breach of the healthy relationship of mutual confidence which ought to exist between parents and child.

Doubtless, before this happens, the child will have formed its own concepts of the sexual life, as it does in the case of all other odjects that present themselves; and since these are matters which it is ill able to understand, it will have allowed its fancy to range freely.[1] For instance, my own children, up to the age of five years, have believed that there has been a division of labour on the part of their parents, that their mother makes the boys, and their father the girls. I have tranquilly allowed them to retain this belief. Have we not here the germ of the essential idea, that both father and mother possess the reproductive capacity, and that both combine to make the family?[2]

[1] "We have only girls in our family, for mother is poor, and she cannot buy different kinds of clothing; having dresses only, she has to put these on all her children, *so she makes girls;* if she had been able to buy breeches, she would have made boys." Léon Frapié, *L'institutrice de province.* Paris, Fayard, p. 13.

[2] Four and a half years ago, in my own family, during dinner, two of my children carried on the following conversation. I transcribe it verbally in order to show that sincerity of language on the part of parents concerning the phenomena of sex does not lead to the possession by the children of an intimate knowledge of these matters, which children neither can nor should fully understand; and to show further that such sincerity towards children in no way impairs their natural spontaneity and purity of mind:

My wife. To-morrow we will go to see the signora Di M., who has made a fine baby.

Mario (seven years of age, after a moment's reflection). Do you know, mother, I still remember when you made Daisy (a little sister three years of age).

Manon (four years of age, turning to Mario). Were you there too, Mario, when father made me?

To conclude, sexual enlightenment must be effected along the general lines here indicated, but the choice of the detailed means is a matter on which it is impossible to lay down general rules. It is a question for the tact and the intuitive good feeling of the adults, and depends also upon the individual character of the adolescents. The writer of this book would by no means pledge himself to place it in the hands of his own daughter, to whom the work is dedicated, as soon as she is grown up. For it is impossible to deny that such a book as the present one may arouse the desire in one whose mental state is unwholesome to skim its pages, caring nothing for the writer's lofty moral aim, and to make use of it as corrupt boys often use the Bible (which indeed lends itself to this purpose), in search of stimulating mysteries. The question whether a serious, honest, and sincere book, such as this, should be given to or withheld from a grown girl, must be decided in each case on its merits, and with regard to special circumstances. If the girl is frivolous-minded and incapable of grasping its teaching as a whole, if she is of a weak or nervous constitution, or if she is unduly impressionable, it will be well to keep out of her hands a book which she will fail to understand at all or will misinterpret. If, on the other hand, she has a true and natural conception of the serene reality of life, if she has a free vision and a healthy mind, and if, in

Mario (laughing). But father did not make you. Men can never make children. Oxen can't make anything either.

Manon. If that is so you will not be able to make children.

Mario. I'm afraid not.

Manon. Then I will make ten, and will give five of them to you, poor thing, since you can't make them for yourself.

addition, she has well-grounded moral instincts, the book cannot fail to enlarge her understanding, and to reinforce her intrinsic moral tendencies. For my own part, I confidently hope that my own children, when they attain puberty, will belong to the last category.

PART I.

GENERAL BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF THE EROTIC LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

HUNGER AND LOVE.

Necessity and Intensity of Sexual Love in a State of Nature—Urgency of Sexual Need as displayed in Popular Catchwords—Undiscriminating Character of the Sexual Impulse when Conventional Restraints are thrown aside—Ethical Limitations of the Right to Sexual Activity—The Primary Ethical Foundation of every Sexual Relationship must be the deliberate Consent of both Participants in the Love-Act.

SEXUAL love is one of the primary physical needs of the human race. For this very reason, chastity has a practical value, but it has such a value only as a means to higher ends. As an end in itself, chastity is unnatural and absurd. The sexual need takes the form of an urgent impulsion. In the case of every organ of the human body there is experienced an instinctive tendency to the exercise of its normal functional activity, and the sexual organs share this universal tendency. To convey some idea of the urgency and necessity of the sexual impulse, which, though often independent of the rational will, is experienced by every normal human being, this impulse has frequently been compared with

the sense of hunger. The sexual impulse undoubtedly resembles hunger in this fact, that in a state of nature it is far from dainty. Throw any man and any woman together as the sole inhabitants of a remote and solitary American farmstead, the nature of their impulsive life will ensure their speedy sexual union. Primitive love is the outcome of sexual differentiation, and the consequent attraction between those of opposite sexes. Preference can arise only where there is a choice. The higher forms of love do not make their appearance in default of the possibility of choice from among a considerable number of persons of the opposite sex. In a state of civilisation there are extensive possibilities of choice, though as yet only for the male. In these circumstances the woman of a man's choice may feel herself forced to accept his overtures, not because she herself desires him, but simply because she fears to lose him.

In Halle the following incident once came under my notice. It was during the epoch of the great masked balls, one of those voluptuous winter nights in which the entire city seems transformed into a teeming ant-heap, alive with couples wearied by the dance but hungering for love—a night sounding Cupid's Æolian harp in every possible tone from the loudest to the softest. A youth and a maiden, engaged in an intimate and lively conversation, passed me in the street. What had happened before I saw them I cannot tell. Now and again I heard the woman's voice repeating half emphatically, half tearfully, "No, no, I won't do it." The dispute continued. The young man appeared far from willing to accept this refusal, and continued his side of the argument with much vigorous play of facial expres-

sion. At length, he suddenly stopped—they were passing the corner of a well-known street full of licensed houses of prostitution—and dropped the girl's arm. He stood for a moment facing her, half threateningly, half scornfully, and with a disagreeable smile which spoiled the expression of his pretty, beardless face, and then, as if he had made up his mind, turned down the dark alley. He had not made two paces away from her, when the girl rushed after him, crying out, "No, you shan't do that!" and grasped his arm. He tried to break loose from her, and for a few moments they struggled vigorously. At length, watching the scene with lively interest from a little distance, I heard the girl say, "Come with me; it shall be as you will." This was the word of power which appeased the storm. Instantly he took her in his arms, kissed her cheek, took her by the arm, and disappeared with her round the next corner. It was evident that he had conquered her by an ignoble threat, and by an appeal to the dread of losing their lover by which so many women are dominated—a dread which makes them forget everything, forget honour and self-respect, so that they become docile instruments in the hands of the male.

In the great majority of human beings, even to-day, the manifestations of the love-instinct assume a rude and primitive form. What a man loves is not a woman, but women, that is to say, the female of his species. His only desire, or at any rate the chief of his desires, is the act of physical union. Every woman is regarded as a man's predestined prey—unless deprived of value from this point of view by age or gross physical defects. For, as we are told in the Neapolitan folk-song: *L'uomo è cacciatore* ("Man

is a hunter").[1] Popular wit conveys ideas of this peculiarity of the erotic moods of the average man in caustic and pithy phrases. There is a Tuscan saying: *Omo e donna in stretto loco è come paglia accanto al foco.* In the Rhineland we find an equivalent phrase: *Neu Bux op de Leppen macht Tröngschaf unger de Schleppen.* The first of these sayings is to the effect that a man and a woman in close proximity are like fuel and flame; the second tells us that from the first kiss on the lips a man passes to the last intimacy; both are equivalent to the English proverbial saying about "fire and tow." Thus, in the popular view, between the different forms of love there is no distinction as regards either end or means; the only variations are in the length of the strides by which progress is effected, or in the greater or less expenditure of mental energy requisite to attain the goal.

In the Middle Ages, more especially, physical love was regarded as an absolute necessity. In all popular festivals, prostitutes circulated freely, plying their trade before all the world. In the case of imprisoned debtors, their creditors were compelled twice a week to send them sufficient money to enable them to pay for the services of prostitutes.[2] Towards the end of the Middle Ages was current the legend that an accumulation of human semen must be dispersed if a poisoning of the blood was to be

[1] From Piedigrotta's song "Margarì," published 1891 (verses by P. Cinquegrana). But, as Matilde Serao points out (*La Ballerina* Catania, vol. ii. p. 74, 1899), this phrase is universally current in Naples.

[2] C. Meiner, *Geschichte des Weiblichen Geschlechts* ("History of the Female Sex"), I., p. 247. Helwing, Hanover, 1788.

averted, and on the strength of this belief even boys of twelve were sent to the brothels.[1] In our own time we find in legal ideas traces of the absolute and necessary identity of every form of love with the physical act of sexual congress. In Italy, the Supreme Court holds that carnal union constitutes an integral part, and therefore a constituent element, of the act of abduction (*raptus*).[2] Thus, to the legal mind, abduction without cohabitation appears inconceivable.

It is a matter of common observation that those who are withdrawn from the accustomed paths, and are far removed from the artificial system of conventions and penalties of civilised life—conventions whose disregard imposes upon women the dread penalty of failure to attain marriage—become more "natural," or, if you will, more atavistic in their ways. Those who spread European civilisation in the interior of Africa, soon come, in sexual relations, to resemble the most savage of negro kinglets as closely as one hair resembles another. The stiff-mannered English squires and city men, who leave their homes in respectable puritan England to enjoy a week-end in Gay Paris, are, in the circle of Parisian prostitutes, regarded as addicted to exceptionally extravagant debauchery. "It is reported by those who keep brothels that the taste of Englishmen demands very young girls."[3] The French and German prostitutes who nightly throng Regent Street and Piccadilly are said to exhibit a far higher degree of

[1] Robert Hessen, *Die Prostitution in Deutschland*, p. 205. Langen, Munich, 1910.

[2] *Revista di Diritto Penale*, I., p. 133. 1900.

[3] Maurice Talmeyr, *La Fin d'une Société: Les Maisons d'Illusions*, p. 220. Juvon, Paris, 1906.

human depravity than English women in the same way of life, or than their sister prostitutes left behind on the continent.[1] The daughters of the Emilian peasants, habituated to a strict domestic discipline, who spend some weeks every summer in company with young fellows of the same province, in badly paid, exhausting, and unwholesome work in the wet rice-fields of Novare, speedily forget, when thus removed from the supervision of their parental homes, the teachings in which they have been brought up and the precepts of the catechism, and devote their scanty leisure at the end of the long working day to the unrestrained enjoyment of the forbidden pleasures of love. When attempts were made to do away with the sleeping-sheds common to both sexes, and to replace them by separate dormitories, young men and young women alike organised a strenuous resistance to the proposal, even threatening a strike if anything were done to throw hindrances in the way of their love pleasures.[2]

The strength of the spontaneous instincts veiled by the decent aspects of civilisation is most plainly illustrated by the behaviour of armies in time of war. From time immemorial Venus has been the lover of Mars, and has followed every step of the warrior-god.

[1] *Cf.* Miss Hogg's Report to the International Congress on Women's Work and Women's Aims, held in Berlin, 1897. *Protokoll*, p. 369 (published by Walther).

[2] Giovanni Lorenzoni, *I Lavoratori delle Risaie: Inchiesta* ("The Workers in the Rice Fields: An Inquiry"). Pubblicazione dell' Ufficio del lavoro della Società Umanitaria (Publications of the Labour Bureau of the Humanitarian Society), Milan, 1904, p. 132. Consult also the novel of the Marchesa Colombi, *In Risaia* ("In the Rice-field"), 4th Edition, Milan, 1902, Baldini e Castoldi, pp. 32, 33, 38, 40, 47, 74, 81, 151, and 213. This work is based on authentic materials and is worthy of close study.

From the foot-soldiers of Charles V. and his contemporaries, and from the mercenary troops of the Thirty Years' War, down to the armies of modern times, the fighting regiments have always had at their heels a long train of prostitutes. In our own days, although this evil has by no means been completely abolished, serious attempts have been made to check it, not so much on moral grounds, as for administrative and technical reasons of a military order. But another even more hateful system has replaced it. The soldiers in a foreign land take their pleasure with any woman who is willing. The Napoleonic armies in Spain were accompanied by battalions of Spanish prostitutes, betrayers of their country, who received from their own countrymen the depreciatory nickname of *afrancesadas* ("the Frenchified woman").[1] The men are shot down as enemies, while the women who consent—and there will always be plenty of these—are in request as concubines, whilst the wives of these men, torn between hope and fear, are awaiting the return of their soldier-heroes, and weaving for them crowns of victory. In the Franco-German war of 1870-71, the Teutons engaged in saving their fatherland were at the same time celebrating phallic festivals with the Parisian *cocottes*.[2] Simultaneously, the French soldiers and the Garibaldian troops who had flocked to their aid, were ruffling it in the

[1] Elzéar Blaze, *Souvenirs d'un Officier de la Grande Armée.*, p. 181. Société Typ. Belge, Brussels, 1834.

[2] This is proved by the diaries of the German officers in this campaign. On the French side the fact, which is no more creditable to France than to Germany, is fully admitted (see, for example, the scene in Guy de Maupassant's *Mademoiselle Fifi*. New edition, Paris, 1907. Ollendorff).

brothels of Dijon; while the Italian officers, by the seduction of numerous women of the French bourgeoisie, were taking revenge for the Italian husbands whose wives after Magenta and Solferino had surrendered to the embraces of the French allies.[1]

All great historical convulsions, and those also of a natural order, which, by the destruction or violent modification of the normal human environment, forcibly upset the balance of the human mind, react powerfully upon the sexual instincts, rendering them more acute and more excitable, and throwing out of action the inhibitary centres of acquired morality. It is a noteworthy fact that after the victory of the reaction in Russia and the horrible suppression of the revolution in that country, the young men at the universities, throwing over Karl Marx and Peter Kropotkin, wallowed in the mire of unbridled sensuality.[2] Similarly, the young women who survived the disastrous earthquake at Messina, hardly rescued from the shattered fragments of the town, exhausted after their terrors, reacting in the fierce delight of finding themselves after all alive, and mad with sexual desire, fell, amid the very ruins of their homes, into the arms of the first male who came along.[3]

[1] Consult the memoirs of Ettori Socci, *Da Firenze a Digione, Impressioni di un reduce Garibaldino* ("From Florence to Dijon. Impressions of a Garibaldian Veteran"). Florence, 1897, Paggi, pp. 76 *et seq.* and p. 257.

[2] Consult the well-known romance *Szanine*, by M. Arzibascew. See also an article by Roman Strelzow, "Die Krise der Russischen Intelligenz," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, 1909, No. 2, pp. 105 *et seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Cesare Lombroso and Paola Lombroso-Carrara, "La psicologia dei terremotati" ("The Psychology of Earthquakes"). *Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xxx. p. 122. See also the accounts of the Messina earthquake published by the *Stampa* of Turin.

Love and hunger are alike in this, that most human beings crave for the satisfaction of these desires with extreme urgency; they are alike, further, in this, that in the case of the great majority of males, the satisfaction of the sexual impulse, no less than the satisfaction of hunger, is effected, when need is pressing, with the same animal lack of nice discrimination. But the sexual impulse is sharply differentiated from hunger in one matter of the first importance, so that the unconditional assimilation of hunger and of love may give rise to the most fallacious ideas, and if these ideas are translated into practice, to actions of the stupidest, the most unscrupulous, and the most unconscientious character. The object of hunger is of animal or even vegetable origin. The object of the sexual impulse, on the other hand, is the possession of another human being. Abstractly considered, the sexual instinct has no moral values, either positive or negative; like hunger, it is unsusceptible of mensuration. It exists, that is all, altogether apart from the realm of ethical values. To apply the words of Nietsche, it is "beyond good and evil." But taken in the concrete, sexual love has to be justified in the terms of the categorical imperative. In other words, sexual love, involving as it does the mutual activity of two individuals, must not consist in one's making use of the other simply for the purposes of the former—whereas a sexual act which injures no one is indifferent, ethically speaking, and therefore cannot be immoral. A corollary of this thesis is the ethical limitation of the right to sexuality. It has been said that love constitutes a sort of *égoïsme à deux*. This is so far true, in that one of the most frequent concomitants of sexual love

is the mental concentration of the two lovers within the restricted circle of their own personalities, so that, as a result of this tendency, they readily lose all proper sense of their relationships with the outer world, and tend to neglect all other duties. But we may lay down as a moral law whose infraction makes sexual enjoyment altogether unethical, the postulate that this egoism of sex should have an altruistic basis, if not in external relationships, at least in internal. To exemplify, as immoral must be condemned every sexual act in which harm is wittingly done to the physical or moral personality of the sexual partner. Hence, sexuality, moral or amoral, whichever you will, presupposes freedom of action and intrinsic spontaneity in both partners. The existing legal codes involve a partial recognition of this point of view, for they punish as carnal violence any sexual act effected by brute force or under stress of threats of violence, and all other cases in which it can be shown that the sexual partner was deprived of freedom of choice. In this last category are included cases in which effective resistance to sexual advances was impossible, owing to physical immaturity, mental or physical malady, loss of consciousness, or some other cause independent of the direct action of the offender. Under the same head come the cases in which, by threats of murder or by false representations, the free operation of the will has been impaired. The abuse of a protective and fiduciary relationship for sexual purposes is also a criminal offence.

Whilst the law thus limits its attention to certain well-defined instances, the moral code condemns sexual intercourse effected either without full mutual

consent or without full understanding of the nature of the act, or by means of false promises. The attainment of any end by holding out false hopes, by fraud of any kind, is immoral. From this point of view (that is to say, where seduction has been effected under promise of marriage) the English law which inflicts a punishment for breach of promise of marriage is sound and right. The Don Juan type of man, who regards love-making as the most agreeable way of passing his time, and whose principal aim in life is to overcome and to possess the largest possible number of women, cannot be said, morally speaking, to represent a very high type of manhood. Yet it cannot be denied that such a man, in so far as in his love-relationships he makes no use of false coin, so that every woman who gives herself to him does so with a free spirit and fully aware of what she is doing—the man who hides nothing and promises nothing—exhibits the primary attributes of sexual morality, attributes which should never be dissociated from the sex-relationship, namely, loyalty and truth.[1] The satisfaction of sexual hunger

[1] To this type obviously belonged Tullio Murri, condemned in the year 1904, after a trial which attracted great public attention, to penal servitude for life for the murder of his brother-in-law. His reputation was that of an unscrupulous rake. He made the following interesting avowal:—"I have been commonly regarded as a libertine, but this is altogether unjust. I have been a lover of women, that is all; it seems to me that the word libertine connotes the idea of fraudulent seducer and corrupter. I have never deceived any woman, nor have I corrupted any. In love, as in all other matters, I was impelled by my own spontaneous impulses to be honest and leal. I have never been able to understand why you should punish for fraud one who by false pretences gets possession of a pound or two of onions, and leave immune one who, by a false promise of marriage, robs a woman of her honour. Such was my social position that I had cared to disregard in

in a love-act freely undertaken by both parties does not infringe in any way the basic principles of ethics—not even in the field of free love. The satisfaction of sexual hunger by force, on the other hand, is fundamentally unethical, within marriage no less than without. So essential is freedom of action as the ethical premise to every moral sexual act.

Such a conception as this naturally implies the condemnation of licensed brothels and similar places in which women have to submit themselves to all clients of the house, without any right to rebellion, either moral or physical. Moreover, as all will admit except the antiscientific by temperament, or those who through prejudice close their eyes to plain facts, this moral law is ignored, nay, deliberately thrust aside, precisely in that variety of sexual association which represents the most elevated form of sexual relationship yet known in the history of the human race. For, in marriage, the moral law of individual sexual inviolability—the

this way the warnings of my own conscience, I should have had no difficulty in satisfying any of my desires." Murri was a lawyer, and belonged to a rich and highly cultured family. To the question whether any of the women he had loved had been young intact virgins, Murri replied: "It may have been so; but none were deceived. If I had imagined that a woman was deceived as to my intentions, I should have said in plain terms, 'Make no mistake about what you are doing; I have no intention of marrying you.' I never gave any woman the right to reproach me, and some of those with whom my most intimate relationships came to an end ten or twelve years ago have remained on terms of affectionate friendship ever since. All I have to say is that if you regard love as a pastime, you should keep away from women inclined to give to that pastime too essential a part of themselves." Mario Casalini, *Confessioni di Tullio Murri ad un compagno di cella* ("Confessions of Tullio Murri to a fellow-prisoner"), pp. 124-6. Piccarolo, Turin, 1905.

law that it is immoral to use one person as a mere means to the sexual ends of another—is continually infringed. No woman is less inviolable than the married woman. In marriage, the application of this principle of personal inviolability is countervailed by an original vice of the institution, that is to say by the idea that the wife is legally and morally bound to lend herself ever willingly to the sexual desires of her husband. It is a harsh and painful criticism of marriage, but none the less a criticism essentially just, to assert, as do some, that this institution to-day is not infrequently nothing more than the cloak for acts of rape sanctified and authorised by the law.[1]

In some countries, a relief, I will not say adequate, but at least partial, is provided by the laws of divorce, in so far as these temper the stringency of the coercive idea of matrimonial duty. But where divorce is impossible, it is incontrovertible that in marriages in which mutual affection has disappeared, and even mutual esteem is a vanishing quantity, the obligation imposed upon the wife to submit passively to the sexual orders of her husband, frequently leads to a repeated carnal violation of the former by the latter. Thus we have reproduced, under the ægis of marriage, one of the most horrible of the features of prostitution—in a form, in some respects, even more atrocious, for prostitution is at least supposed

[1] It is true that neither in the Italian penal code (Article 331), nor in the German penal code (Article 177), nor in the French code (Article 332), as far as the verbal text is concerned, is any distinction made between the act of rape with or without the bonds of marriage; but the generally accepted view of conjugal rights will exclude *a priori* the applicability of these articles in the codes to the cases under consideration.

to involve the mutual consent of both parties to the sexual act. Nor can it be said that such violation of the wife occurs only in the most unhappy marriages; it occurs also where the man's character is coarse and violent, and where he is frequently drunk. Worse than this, who can count the number of women who have been violated by their own husbands during the lying-in period, even during the first weeks after delivery. Yet more deplorable, who will number the women, of all ranks of life, whose legal husbands have wittingly, and with impunity, transmitted to them some disastrous venereal infection? [1]

Not only in congresses, but elsewhere as well, medical practitioners have often directed the attention of the public and of governments to this matter, proposing to fight against the physical and moral disasters of venereal infection by legislation which shall make the witting transmission of venereal

[1] According to the figures given by the Parisian expert in Syphilology, Fournier, of one hundred women suffering from syphilitic infection, twenty, one in every five, that is to say, have been infected by their own husbands. Among 218 husbands, four had contracted syphilis during married life, one as the result of sexual relations with another woman, and 124 had contracted the disease during bachelor life, to carry it to their wives during the early days of marriage.

To turn to another aspect of the question, we lack accurate information as to the proportion of married men affected with venereal disease. Dr. Ferdinand Winkler, medical officer to the Austrian State Railways, in the *Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* ("Journal of the Campaign against Venereal Diseases"), in the year 1907, advocated an agitation against the abuse of alcohol and of sexual indulgence among railway employees. His own experience, he said, had shown that at least one-third of the railway men suffering from venereal disease were married. Many other medical men, among whom Flesch may be mentioned, give similar figures.

disease a criminal offence, whether effected within or without marriage.[1] Another remedy, no less radical, has been proposed—a demand for compulsory notification of the disease, either by the patient himself, or by his medical adviser.

In conclusion, it may be affirmed that the outward forms of sexual relationships do not give us any true idea of the sexual morality of the content. A sexual act under the category of free love may conform to the strictest laws of morality, whereas a sexual act under the category of marriage may be profoundly unethical, alike in its mode of performance, in its motives, and in its concomitants. In such relation-

[1] In Germany there have been numerous petitions to the Reichstag (in 1900, for instance) demanding the introduction into the code of a law which shall render obligatory upon man and woman alike as a preliminary to marriage, the production of an official medical certificate.

The same demand has been made in relation to the decline in the birthrate, noted during recent years, which some have attributed in part to sterility in married life as the outcome of venereal infection. With regard to the communication of venereal infection, it is held by many German jurists that, pending the enaction of a special law to define such infection as a criminal offence and to specify its punishment, the matter is covered by the articles 223 *et seq.* of the German criminal code, dealing with offences causing grievous bodily harm (the deliberate infliction of grievous bodily harm, unintentional infliction of the same, censurable infliction of the same, as the case may be). According to Liszt, who advocates legislation in this sense, the only real difficulty in the matter depends upon the long period of incubation of certain types of venereal infection, and upon the frequency of infection from other sources than sexual intercourse (*syphilis insontium*) —in a word, upon the difficulty of controlling and definitely establishing the source of venereal infection—Franz von Liszt, *Der strafrechtliche Schutz gegen Gesundheitsgefährdung durch Geschlechtskranke* ("Legal Protection against the dangers to health resulting from Venereal Diseases"). An opinion in the *Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* ("Journal of the Campaign against Venereal Diseases"), 1903.

ships, the one and only ethical measuring rule is love, love which, whether conjugal or extra-conjugal, unites those of different sexes, and makes their sexual act one of pure mutual spontaneity altogether devoid of any coercive element. Once more, all sexual relationships are subordinated to Kant's fundamental moral law, in accordance with which no one must be considered merely as the means to the ends of another. By the observance of this law, and thus alone, can we secure that the sexual life shall not do any ineradicable injury to a man's moral life.

CHAPTER II.

NATURE AND LIMITS OF MODESTY.

Origin of Modesty in the Fact that Primitive Woman was a form of Booty—The Sentiment of Shame not Instinctive but Acquired—Instinctive Shamelessness of Woman—Professional Shamelessness and Occasional Shame—Modesty as manifested in Different Classes of Society—Shame in the Sexual Act—The Isolation of the Love-Pair.

THE presumptive origin of the feminine sense of modesty may be regarded as known to the reader. It is most intimately connected with the fact that in primitive times woman was a form of booty. Woman was the prey of the conqueror in wars and raids, and the prize of the successful rival in single combat. She had every reason to be on her guard against the brutality of the male in sexual matters. Thus a dread of the male, that is to say, a dread of men in general, has come to dominate her life. Hence it has become instinctive in woman to conceal from the masculine gaze those parts of her body which are capable of stimulating man's sexual desires and of exposing woman to sexual aggression. On this view, the sentiment of modesty is a consequence of fear: or, if you will, a preventive measure, a means of defence for woman in her resistance to the uncontrolled sexual desires of the male. This defensive

character of modesty is manifest even to-day. An adult woman feels less shame, not only in the presence of other women, but also in the presence of children and old men, than she feels in similar circumstances in the presence of men in their prime.

Despite its prehistoric genealogy, the sentiment of modesty is one of those qualities which have to be inculcated by education, which have to be freshly acquired in each generation. The normal child knows nothing of shame. Not long ago, when my little daughter Manon, a very intelligent child of five, was being undressed, I wished to carry her just as she was, in shift and stockings, into the sitting-room, that she might say good-night to some well-known friends. Thereupon she struggled and cried in great distress. It was obvious that she was ashamed, altogether contrary to my expectation. A few months before I had shown her entirely nude to some artists, and she had been perfectly good about it, jumping and crawling like a little savage in every possible attitude, without displaying a trace of shame. It therefore occurred to me, on this occasion, to recall her former nakedness to her mind, and to ask her why she was ashamed to-day. The innocent answered, "Nuda, si che mi piace, ma svestita, no, ho vergogna." That is to say, "To be naked, that's all right; but to be half undressed makes me feel ashamed."

The feminine sentiment of shame is not the outcome of any natural instinct. The uninitiated child knows nothing of it. Vischer asserts that women feel shame more than men because they are less innocent, that is to say, because girls learn about sexual matters much earlier than boys, and because

women are much more conscious of sex than men.[1] The precise opposite of this is the truth. Woman displays her nudity in the public ball-room altogether without shame, partly from æsthetic motives, partly without fully understanding why she does it, to attract the male, to gain success in the contest for his favour, and to please; and yet, all the time, owing to her lack of actual sexual experiences, she is commonly far more innocent than man. The woman thus attired is far from suspecting the influence exercised on the male by the sight of her bare bosom—unless, indeed, she has become aware of this in long experience of social life. It would be an unjust reproach to society ladies to assume that they are aware that no small proportion of the young men who have been their partners in the dance visit prostitutes immediately afterwards to calm the excitement thus aroused. Beyond question, girls are generally ignorant of the fact, asserted by Vischer in another work, and expressive of his own experience as a male, that their bare and throbbing bosoms seem to men to pulse against the very nerves of desire.[2]

[1] Fr. Theod. Vischer, *Auch Einer*, 3rd ed., vol. ii., p. 371. Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1884. The same thesis as to the lack of modesty in women is strongly maintained in Otto Weininger's famous book, *Geschlecht und Charakter* ("Sex and Character"). Braumüller, Vienna, 1907.

[2] Fr. Theod. Vischer, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis unserer Kulturformen und Sittenbegriffe," *Mode und Cynismus* ("Contributions to the Study of our Civilisation and Moral Ideas," *Fashion and Depravity*), 2nd edition, p. 68. Wittiver, Stuttgart, 1879. In like manner the lady of fashion willingly accepts without feeling any discomfort a mode of dress which to the man seems altogether shameless, and created simply for the purposes of sexual attraction. Amalia Guglielminetti, the talented Italian author, appositely remarks, "A man will very readily present the

It is upon the sense of vision that modesty chiefly depends, and for this reason darkness is a great intermediary to love. In the dark, nakedness itself seems less naked, because the condition is no longer apparent to sight, but only to touch. It seems sometimes as if modesty were entirely subsumed in the blush. Hence shame becomes less intense when the observer is unable to see our face, our eyes, and our cheeks. Those who have made a psychological study of the carnival are well aware that the most trifling mask over the face is apt to induce even among the most modest of women a certain tendency to indecency in words and actions.[1]

Such inability to feel shame is often but a manifestation of frigidity. Sexual love, on the contrary, frequently leads to the appearance of shame where previously that sentiment was unknown. I

matter to himself in the following terms: 'This woman is dressed in the way most apt to display her person, and more particularly one part of that person. She is undoubtedly thus attired in order to attract my attention and to arouse my desire. Since she tries to do these things, it is probably her intention to bring her charms to market.' The witty writer thus makes answer to the man: 'In face of the primitive simplicity of such reasoning as this, a woman may smile with compassion or laugh with amusement, but certainly need not blush either with anger or with shame. . . . The woman who dresses herself in this way in accordance with the dictates of fashion, does this, in part, in obedience to an instinctive need of elegance, and this elegance is not attained by her own judgment or her own taste, but by accepting the ever-changing decrees of fashion. For the rest, she obeys another need no less instinctive, the instinct to please, but simply through a more or less innocent desire to be admired, which is for the most part independent of and superior to the impulse to display seductive lures.'"—Amalia Guglielminetti, "La Moda all'Indice" ("Fashion on the Index"), *Stampa*, September 11th, 1911.

[1] See the descriptions given by Camille Lemonnier, *l'Homme en Amour*, p. 250. Ollendorff, Paris, 1904; and by Emil Kaiser, *Karneval*. Cologne, 1906.

am acquainted with a young lady who was accustomed to go to society dances in an extremely low-cut dress, but who, having fallen in love with a young officer (whom she subsequently married), refused thenceforward to allow herself to be seen by him thus attired. The nudity of her bosom, which previously she had regarded with indifference, struck her as indecent as soon as she became conscious of her own sex. Those persons, male or female, who are strongly dowered with sexuality, and who experience more than most others the force of sexual need, spontaneously exhibit, in so far as they have not thrown off all sexual restraint, more shame than others.[1]

It has often been maintained that the sentiment of modesty originates in man's desire to conceal his kinship with his animal ancestors. Man, it is said, clothes certain organs simply because they bear witness to his brute origin, and because the functions for which they are adapted are animal functions. *La pudeur c'est la honte de l'animalité qui est en nous* (Modesty is the outcome of shame at the animal within us).[2] Measured by such a standard as this, the Turks and the Arabs, whose women thus conceal

[1] Restif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas, ou le Cœur Humain Dévoilé* ("M. Nicolas, or the Human Heart Unveiled"), vol. i. p. 18. Michaud, Paris.—"I am of opinion that all those men who are most violently attracted by women, experience during their undeveloped youth the same timidity, the same shame, the same peculiarities of manner. The reason is that they experience thus early what others of the same age do not yet feel. In the same way, the girl who blushes most readily may be regarded as the one most apt for the pleasures of love."

[2] Camille Mélinaud, "La psychologie de la pudeur" ("Psychology of Shame"). *La Revue*, No. 10, p. 397, anno xii.

from view the animal organ of the mouth, should be regarded as in the advance-guard of civilisation; and *a fortiori* this would apply to the Tuaregs of the desert, in whom even the men keep their mouths veiled, and whose sentiment of shame is not, like that of Europeans, limited to the genito-urinary and evacuant organs, but extends to the organ whereby food is taken into the body. Thus shame exhibits itself in many varied forms, which cannot possibly have any reference to the animal origin of our race. It may be mentioned that Arab women are even more ashamed to expose the back of the head than to unveil the face. Among the women of Pori in East Africa, to expose the nose is considered the most shameless act they can possibly commit.[1] We are told by Galaup de la Pérouse that in North America he came across an Indian tribe in which the women wore a round of wood over the mouth. The unmarried girls merely wore a needle in the lower lip, and only the married women were entitled to the round of wood. When Pérouse suggested to them the removal of this ornament, he found it very difficult to persuade them to do so; they made the same gestures and exhibited the same embarrassment seen in a European woman whose bosom is being uncovered.[2] There is no single part of the human body which has not been regarded as the very centre of modesty. Moreover, shame has no necessary relationship with morality. Ethnologists

[1] Karl Weule, director of the Ethnographical Museum at Leipzig, *Negerleben in Ostafrika* ("Negro Life in Eastern Africa"), p. 126. Leipzig, 1908.

[2] "Voyage de la Pérouse autour du Monde," *Nouv. Bibl. des Voyages*, vol. lxviii. Paris, 1832. Lecointe, vol. ii. p. 53.

maintain that among the negro races those tribes which wear the least clothing, and are least familiar with the sentiment of prudery, are not as a rule those in whom sexual morality stands at its lowest level; and conversely.[1] Prudery as an extrinsic manifestation and modesty as an intrinsic quality are therefore by no means identical.

This is a suitable opportunity to consider whether modesty is, generally speaking, a sign of high civilisation. The mere fact that in ancient Greece, the very fount of modern civilisation, manners and customs were current hardly possible in association with a highly developed sentiment of modesty, would appear to conflict with any such notion. Conversely, anthropologists have found a very highly developed sense of shame among peoples extremely low in the social scale. Among all primitive races, the need for concealing the sexual organs from the gaze of strangers is very strongly felt. We are told by Cesare Lombroso and Mario Carrara that in the African tribe of the Dinka, both the men and the women have a highly developed sense of shame. It was absolutely impossible to persuade the men to allow of a medical examination of their genital organs, or the women of their breasts. One of the Dinka women was known to have interesting tattooings on the breast, and the men of science urged her to allow them to examine these; as a result simply of the request, she became unhappy and irritable for two days.[2]

[1] H. Berkusky, "Die sexuelle Moral der Naturvölker" ("Sexual Morality in Savage Races"). *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, vol. xii., No. 11, p. 719.

[2] C. Lombroso and M. Carrara, *Contributo all'Antropologia dei Dinka*, p. 22. Lanciano, 1897. The shame negroes appear to display

These and similar reports give us little assistance in the estimation of the intensity of the sentiment of shame in any particular people. In the presence of a white man, the negro is more reserved, more readily ashamed, than in the presence of another negro. In the writer's view it is altogether impossible to effect a scientific analysis of the sentiment of shame, unless among the originating factors of this sentiment we give adequate weight to the important elements of custom and strangeness. A professional practice, one of daily occurrence, of which habituation is the necessary accompaniment, may in certain cases lead to the complete exclusion of shame. Thus arise professional types of shamelessness. The female model poses for the nude before young artists. The prostitute exposes her person and surrenders its use to every one who pays her the necessary fee. The

before Europeans is not invariably the effect of true modesty. Witness, for example, an experience in the Cameroon hinterland, where the negro indigens, when in the presence of a European doctor, carefully hide the penis between the thighs—simply from the fear lest the "evil-eye" of the white man falling on the genitals should render them impotent. (A. Plehn, "Beobachtungen in Kamerun über dei Anschauungen und Gebräuche einiger Negerstämme" ["Observations in the Cameroons on the Views and Customs of certain Negro Tribes"], *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxxvi., p. 720, 1904). In this case, therefore, shame is merely a particular link in the chain of negro superstitions. Among the Singhalese the women have their breasts uncovered as long as they are in their houses, but veil them as soon as they go out; the genitals are kept covered at all times, lest a devil should find his way in. (Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. i. p. 56.) Beside this fact may be placed another, physiological this time instead of anatomical, in explanation of the apparent shame of certain negro women. There are tribes in which the women appear to exhibit shame towards white men because they know that the narrowness of their pelvic outlet would put them in peril of their lives did they become impregnated by the embraces of a white man. (Berkusky, *op. cit.*, p. 726.)

nursing mother experiences no reluctance in exposing her breast even to strangers when it is necessary for her to give suck to her child. But this shamelessness extends only to this particular habitual occupation, and to the particular portions of the body needed for the performance of the specified service. The mother feels no shame so long as she is fulfilling maternal functions, in consequence of which her quality as a woman to evoke desire recedes altogether into the background. Her shamelessness in respect to the exposure of her breasts in these conditions must be esteemed as a means rather of repulsion than of sexual attraction in relation to the male. By the open display of her breast she unconsciously advertises the fact that for a lengthy period her preference is given to her child and not to a man. Moreover, as is well known, during the period of lactation the breasts assume a form which completely alters their appearance so as to deprive them of their normal function at other periods of an aphrodisiac.

The model exposes her body for pay, but solely in relation to certain clearly defined artistic ends. She may become altogether shameless, and fall to the level of the commonest prostitute—unquestionably most of the girls who follow this profession are not conspicuous for rigid virtue—but at first, at any rate, it is only under the eye of the artist that she is free from shame. The distinguished French painter, Ingres, had a model who posed calmly in the presence of fifty students. During one of the sittings, when she noticed that she was being watched through the window by a man at work upon an adjoining roof, she gave a loud scream and endeavoured to hide

herself.[1] The modesty which still persisted in her, overlaid by the acquired professional shamelessness, had come to the surface. It is noteworthy that to the prostitute, although in her, shame has been even more radically extinguished than in the model, the latter's profession seems utterly shameless. The prostitute's view is, "Quel horreur! Une femme qui se met toute nue devant des hommes qui ne sout même pas ses amants."[2] Thus in her view nudity is not permissible apart from sexual excitement. By parity of reasoning the prostitute has a strong dislike to medical examination; and this in most cases not

[1] C. Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *La Femme Prostituée*, p. 590. Paris, 1893. In England, recently, the following case, another example illustrating our thesis, aroused much comment. One of the Manchester theatres had engaged Miss Maud Allan, then appearing regularly before London audiences, to give the Salome dance with the traditional seven veils. One of the Manchester magistrates, at the demand of the licensing committee of the County Council, despatched to London a representative to see for himself this celebrated dance and to report upon its propriety. This good man watched the piece carefully all through. Towards the end of the dance, discarding the seventh veil, Maud Allan seemed to him naked but for the jewels sparkling on her beautiful body. Was it illusion or reality? The emissary, going behind the scenes, wished to verify this by close inspection. But the young Canadian sent him for answer, "Miss Maud Allan, according to established custom, may show herself to the public when but partially clothed, but being an honest woman will certainly not do so to a single individual." There was nothing more for the poor man to do. That which he was allowed to admire from his seat in the stalls, as a simple member of the audience, became forbidden fruit when he wished for a closer examination in the public interest and as representative of the city of Manchester! He tried to press his claim, but in vain, the dancer, through the locked door of her dressing-room called out that she would not receive him until she was fully dressed, and had put on her gloves. (See *Daily Chronicle*, August 10th, 1911.)

[2] "How disgusting! A woman who exposes herself quite naked before men who are not even her lovers." Octave Mirbeau, *Le journal d'une femme de chambre*, p. 257. Charpentier, Paris, 1900

solely on account of the numerous disagreeables attendant thereon, but frequently, as I think we are justified in assuming, on account of a genuine sense of shame. Although she has lost all shame in relation to the man approaching her for sexual purposes, it is altogether different when she has to do with the physician, serious minded, fully clothed, free from sexual desire, and on an entirely different platform from herself. It is, further, a well-known fact that the majority of prostitutes retain a keen sense of modesty in connection with the function of menstruation.[1]

It thus appears that the sentiment of shame is separable into constituent parts. It varies according to profession, education, predisposition, and environment; and thus, in the same individual modesty may be now present, now absent. A strict religious education, according to which even the most innocent words are condemned as sinful, may, in the case of certain feminine types naturally inclined to loose and lascivious conduct, produce individuals who will not hesitate before adultery, and who yet in all good faith will almost fall into a swoon if they simply hear a plain allusion to acts they are at all times ready to perform. The shame of such persons relates to words only, not to deeds.[2] Such one-sided

[1] Lombroso and Ferrero, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

[2] One type of this genus is described by Catulle Mendès in one of his sketches, *La Pudeur* ("Les Meilleurs Contes de Catulle Mendès et Georges Courteline," *La Vie Joyeuse*, pp. 58-64. Paris, 1899). As early as the days of Molière the existence of this type of woman was recognised. He relates as characteristic of certain female members among the audience to his comedies:—"By the way in which they behave throughout the play, by the manner in which they turn their heads from side to side and hide their

feelings of shame are particularly well marked among persons congenitally predisposed to sexual abnormality. On the same page of his *Confessions* Jean Jacques Rousseau informs us, first, that during his stay in Turin in the years 1728 and 1729 he was a confirmed exhibitionist; and secondly, that in intercourse with women, even when he had no reason whatever to doubt their willingness, he suffered so much from shame as to render him impotent.[1] Thus in the same individual at the same time were exhibited great shamelessness and a powerfully developed sense of shame. Finally, in persons of a highly refined type, shame may be experienced in connection with actions not felt to be shameful in themselves, but whose social reaction is such that *a posteriori* they arouse shame. Witness the adultery of a certain woman of whom Maurice Donnay tells us, who had no love for her husband, and who regarded herself as morally justified in her love for another man, but who was subsequently stricken with profound remorse when she perceived that her daughter, now growing up, was no longer ignorant of her mother's secret, but aided actively in its concealment, participating in her mother's subterfuges as she would have done in a game of hide and seek.[2] In this case, however, the shame was not

faces, they induce people to say things about them which would not be said if they made less ado. Even one of the lackeys in the theatre called out quite loudly that they were much more chaste in their ears than they were in the rest of their bodies" (Molière, *La Critique de l'École des Femmes*, vol. i. p. 420. , Garnier, Œuvres complètes, Paris).

[1] Rousseau, *Confessions*, pp. 75-6. Garnier, Paris, 1868.

[2] Maurice Donnay, "La Fin du Mois," *Gil Blas Illustré*, No. 31. Seventh year of issue.

physical, but mental.[1] In other cases, again, there arises a sentiment of shame, æsthetic or social in character, and having nothing to do with sexual shame, but yet able to affect the sexual relationships, and thus inducing a kind of artificial sexual shame. A man who is wearing a dirty shirt will renounce a conquest which otherwise he would have grasped without scruple. A girl who has tied up her stocking with a piece of string in place of a proper garter will be especially careful not to fall.[2]

Sexual shame manifests itself in forms varying, not only according to the profession, but also according to the social stratum. Side by side with professional shame and professional shamelessness have

[1] The prostitute is even ashamed at the retention of her virginity, which in her profession is considered as much a matter to be despised as the condition of a nun who has broken her vows. In her relations with her first client a young girl, whose mind has been corrupted long before in the brothel or elsewhere, will take the greatest pains to conceal the fact that she has hitherto remained intact, and will endeavour to pass herself off as a prostitute experienced in all the worst tricks of the trade. (Edmond de Goncourt relates a similar idiosyncrasy in his study entitled *La Fille Elisa*, p. 20, new edition. Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1878.) A woman, again, who gives herself for the first time to a rake will be apt to simulate the possession of an extensive erotic experience, simply because she is ashamed of her previous lack of such experience. (*Cf.* a novel by Arthur Schnitzler, *Frau Bertha Garlan*, p. 180. S. Fischer, Berlin, 1901.) Shame for her virginity will arise in a woman perfectly intact when a lover, profoundly enamoured but sceptical, will not believe it possible that she has had no previous experience. She feels like the woman who in Prévost's book writes to her lover: "You never even noticed! You mocked my resistance with such cruel words. You were so obstinately convinced that you knew all about it, that I should never have dared to say to you afterwards, 'You are the first!' . . . How you would have laughed at me had I done so!" (Marcel Prévost, *Lettres de femmes*, p. 50. Fayard, Paris.)

[2] Théophile Gautier, *Les Jeunes-France*, p. 19. Charpentier, Paris, 1878.

to be considered the shame and the shamelessness of class. The effect of environmental influences is by no means limited to economic and political life, but is most markedly displayed in the manners and customs of every day. It will be well to illustrate this significant fact, out of the almost inexhaustible wealth of materials, by a few brief examples.

In every country of Christian Europe, at dances, dinner-parties, and similar social functions, women of the well-to-do and cultured classes appear in low dress. Arms and shoulders, and frequently the breasts down to just above the nipples—in the technical language of society this region is all included under the euphemism "the neck"—are freely displayed to all beholders.

We are informed that this custom is æsthetically beautiful. The flower must have its stalk. We are assured in addition that, for the dance, and in the overheated rooms of winter, such a costume gives women physical relief and refreshment. However this may be, neither the women themselves nor their male companions find anything immoral or repellent in such physical display, even in the case of young maidens. On the contrary, as I have myself seen, the appearance at a ball of a lady in a high-cut dress is regarded by the host as a breach of good manners. Women of the proletariat, as the outcome of the servile habit of mind still exhibited by the artificially repressed lower strata of the population, are in most respects greatly inclined to ape the women of the upper classes—to play the "lady." But although in all countries alike they have plenty of opportunities of seeing their more highly placed sisters in a state of semi-nudity, and do actually see them thus at

close quarters, when serving as dressmakers, ladies' maids, or as other servants, they show no tendency to follow the higher-class example in this particular matter—excepting only the proletarian woman who has become a high-class prostitute, and whose habits of life are naturally assimilated to those of women of the well-to-do classes. Ordinarily, proletarian women attend the numerous pleasure-parties of their class clad in scrupulously high-cut dresses. The reason for this phenomenon is by no means, as some might ingenuously suppose, to be found in the fact that girls of the lower classes, for motives of economy, possess no low-cut under linen. The *décolleté* garment requires less stuff, and can easily be improvised out of some cheap material. Nor is the reason to be found in the fact that the men of their class, owing to their lower sexual morality, would less readily be able to behave decorously in the presence of such nudity than are men of the upper classes. The plain reason is that the proletarian woman would not feel it moral or decent to appear in public thus partially clothed.

The second example that I have to adduce in support of my thesis has to do with the morals of the state of betrothal. In the capitalist civilisation of modern Europe virginity possesses a certain capital value. The loss of virginity represents also a financial loss; a depreciation of the value of the woman as a commodity in the matrimonial market. By the reaction of these economic conditions upon moral concepts has arisen the idea of the maiden's "honour." The convention—that is to say, the custom, the ethic, the morality—of the upper classes strictly demands the physical purity of the nubile

woman. Until marriage she must have no sexual relations with any man, not even with her betrothed. Should this stipulation be infringed, the young woman is regarded as "dishonoured." This idea that she has been dishonoured persists even though, before the appearance of the child as *corpus delicti*, she is publicly married by her affianced bridegroom, and the father of her child. What conventional morality demands is that the two young people who are about to join their lives should first, upon a previously specified day, with public ceremonial, solemnly and suddenly renounce the celibate state. This involves that the sexual union is effected altogether without any of those transitions so essential to the smooth current of the amatory life; in other words, in a rather brutal manner. Such is the moral code of the international bourgeoisie of Europe. In the international proletariat, on the other hand, very different views prevail as to the morality of the betrothed state. Among these latter we find almost universally that it is not regarded as immoral for a betrothed couple to live together as husband and wife before any official ceremony of marriage has taken place.[1] As far as the proletariat is concerned, the morality applied to these cases is summed up in the postulate that those who thus live together as man and wife shall ultimately legalise their union—that is to say, as soon as their material circumstances render it possible. In these circles, prostitution is regarded as shameful, whereas a free love-union is by no means severely condemned.

[1] In certain districts of Bavaria, and also of Hanover, the peasants do not espouse their sexual companions till a child has been born, and in most cases not until a son has been born.

The sentiment of responsibility and of faithfulness has created among the working classes an antidote to the risks of this laxity of view. The man who abandons his beloved to poverty is severely blamed and is regarded as a rascal.[1] In certain country districts of Germany no blame attaches to the young couple if a child is born while they are living together. We see the same thing in Italy, where, in certain parts, prematrimonial relationships are regarded by the peasantry as a kind of socialist demonstration against the prejudices of capitalist society. In other districts, again, the free union is simply the outcome of poverty; the young people do not marry, because they wish to avoid the expenses attached to the ceremony, or they wish to obtain from the public funds a support for their children on the ground that they are illegitimate.[2]

In respect of shame regarding the love-act itself, it may indeed be said that there are hardly any differences either of nation or of caste. It is only among a very small number of savage races that sexual intercourse is practised in public. In all the peoples of ancient civilisation lovers who wish to engage in the actual service of the god of love withdraw to a holy-of-holies, jealously secluded from the vulgar gaze. Often this sanctuary is some fragrant nook in the woods, where the wild bird is priest and bright butterflies poised on tall, many-coloured flowers are the witnesses—perhaps the most beautiful of all places for the votaries of Eros. Such a

[1] Robert und Lisbeth Wilbrandt, *Die deutsche Frau im Beruf*, p. 190. Möser, Berlin, 1902.

[2] Ivanoè Bonomi and Carlo Vezzani, *Il Movimento proletario nel Mantovano.* Office of the *Critica Sociale*, Milan, 1901

place as this will be preferred chiefly by couples whose union is not legally recognised, and is perhaps incapable of such legal recognition; but at times will be attractive to a married pair poetically or romantically inclined.[1] Sometimes the sanctuary may be a shed or a hayloft in the country, a secluded alley in the town, a discreet Venetian portico by night. It may be almost any corner in the interior of the house, from the convenient sofa to the safe refuge beneath the canopy of the alcove. But always a place apart, as far as possible concealed from the eyes of men, a sanctum.

To elucidate this phenomenon we have to take into consideration the general diffusion of the sentiment of modesty. In the ecstasy of erotic love, neither lover hesitates to face the exposure before the other partner to the love-act. But only in relation to this other is shame in abeyance. Towards everyone else in the world the sentiment instilled by education remains in full force. There are, doubtless, certain debauchees to whom the presence of witnesses to the love-act is a special sexual stimulus.[2] To the enormous majority, how-

[1] See the charming sketch of such a union effected in the woods by an elderly married pair, to celebrate their silver wedding and the memory of their first love-union.—Guy de Maupassant, "Aux Bois," in the collection of short stories entitled *Le Horla*, p. 235. Ollendorf, Paris, 1887.

[2] At any rate, the sugary-obscene literature of the French *roués* of the middle and latter half of the eighteenth century is full of descriptions of the kind. Among the most notable examples of such literature may be mentioned the *Louise et Thérèse* of Restif de la Bretonne (popular reprint published in the same volume with the *Confessions d'un roué de la Régence*, by Duclos, p. 284. Dentu, Paris, 1889). Casanova, greatly experienced in matters erotic, declared that the sentiment of modesty was more readily overcome in the presence of one

ever, such an idea is altogether repulsive. Hence, by one of those remarkable admixtures of moral indignation and unscrupulous profit-seeking characteristic of certain types of human being, the proprietors of places where it is possible to satisfy such peculiar needs charge for their satisfaction at extortionate prices.[1] The natural need of lovers, however, is to be alone together; that they should wittingly permit the presence of another is contra-natural.

In addition to the sentiment of shame, there are numerous other influences tending to isolate the pair of lovers. The sexual act demands for its performance, at any rate as far as the male is concerned, a certain degree of repose of mind, a concentration of physical and intellectual energies, a direction of the idea towards the beloved object, and an intensity of attention, which would all be rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the presence of witnesses. In addition, the fear of jealousy and of the disturbances and struggles to which it may

or two witnesses than when the pair were alone. This is implied in his advice to parents that they should rather let their daughters go about alone than accompanied by sisters, cousins, or friends, on the ground that it was easier for a man to corrupt two girls at once than one at a time. He continues: "The weakness of one leads to the other's fall. . . . Owing to a false shame before one another, neither will oppose a determined resistance, and once the first step is taken, the descent becomes rapid and inevitable. If one of the girls has permitted the slightest liberty, in order that she may not have to blush for it herself she will be the first to urge the other to grant a liberty yet greater. . . ."—(*Mémoires de J. Casanova de Seingalt écrits par lui-même*, vol. iv, pp. 475-6. Garnier, Paris.)

[1] In some of the houses of accommodation of a quite elegant character in the alleys bordering on the Kärntner Strasse in Vienna, "gentlemen with two ladies" are not in fact turned away, but are simply told that they must pay double for their room.

give rise, extending even to the possible danger of the loss of the beloved, is a strong factor in favour of isolation of the couple during the sexual act. It is a significant fact that even the Italians, who take such broad views of the love-relationship that their law considers adultery, so far as men are concerned, to be proved and therefore legally efficacious only when the act of adultery has taken place under the conjugal roof, punish with the utmost severity those who have unfortunately been surprised by some witness when performing an act regarded as shameful, though not *per se* punishable by law. By southerners, kissing and embracing in the street are considered extremely improper and repulsive. Travellers from Italy look upon the caresses in public of legally united couples in Germany and illegally united couples in France as in the highest degree disgusting, provocative, and indecorous. It is in all countries, however, regarded as eminently undesirable to expose the love-act itself to the gaze of strangers. This reluctance is not mainly dependent upon any dread of prosecution for indecency, for the guardians of the law in such cases commonly take a rational view of the potency of human passion, and are apt to look the other way.[1] The reason for seeking privacy has reference rather to the physical dangers to which the lovers are exposed from the presence of witnesses. The sight of the most intimate erotic embrace arouses in many onlookers a feeling which oscillates between an

[1] In the year 1906, in the night express from Frankfort to Giessen, a married couple who had been spending a day of pleasure in Frankfort, were discovered *flagrante delicto*, and arrested. The prosecution was humanely and discreetly conducted, and the penalty was nominal.

animal and voluptuous envy and a pseudo-virtuous indignation, a feeling which may even endanger the lives of the lovers thus surprised. It suffices to recall the case of the man out shooting—a Bavarian if I remember rightly—one Sunday in the spring of the year 1910, who stumbled upon a pair engaged in the love-act, and was so much infuriated at the sight that he fired his gun at the unfortunate couple, killing the girl and seriously wounding the young man. It is thus from a natural instinct of safety that lovers seek a place of retirement, not merely for the love-act itself, but for all more intimate embraces. We have to remember, in addition, that to the male the act of coitus involves the most extreme physical defencelessness, and thus exposes him to the attacks of every possibly enemy.

PART II.

BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF THE EXTRA-CONJUGAL EROTIC LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

COMPARATIVE SEXUAL PSYCHOLOGY IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

International Character of Love—International multiplicity of its Manifestations—Publicity of Love in Germany and Holland—Alcove-love in Italy—Contrast between Prostitution in Paris and Prostitution in Germany—Comradely Type of Prostitute—Sense of Honour and of Human Self-Respect in the Grisette.

LOVE—the impulse based upon sexual differentiation of the man from the woman and the woman from the man, not limited to strictly sexual manifestations, but pervading our entire emotional life—is a sentiment regardless of nationality. In manifestations, in essence, and in results, it is insusceptible of classification by political, geographical, or ethnical groups. Eros has a Greek name, but the deity is in truth worshipped internationally. His temples will be found wherever man exists.

Nevertheless the forms of manifestation of the erotic impulse are manifold. Still more variable are the different relationships between love and morality, between love and natural impulse, between love and reason. Climate, racial admixture, tradition, class—

such are the determinants, among a whole series of imponderable influences, of the abundance in the forms of the amatory life observable even in so limited an area as that of Central Europe.

Let us study a few of the phenomena of the erotic life obvious to the attentive observer, and let us seek to learn something thereby.

Italians of the cultured classes, with preconceived ideas regarding the cold-bloodedness, stiffness, and rigid morality of the Germans, are almost always astonished, and even disgusted, when they first visit Germany, at the characteristics of the amatory life which there force themselves on the attention. An Italian, visiting Germany a few years ago, summed up his travel impressions as regards the erotic life of that country in the following terms: "Couples everywhere. In the train, in the streets, in the inns, in the restaurants; everywhere half-expressed phrases, the murmur to these blonde girls with eyes of desire of terms of endearment, which make their cheeks flame. The incessant renewal of such scenes is most disturbing to the onlooker, on whom it has a provocative effect. . . . The observer is forced to exhibit a patience worthy of a better cause to enable him to stomach the shameless love-making of these young people, who thus excite one another sexually before the public eye." He concludes, "There can be no doubt about the matter, the Germans, however cold and restrained they may be in other respects, are in love utterly shameless."[1] In truth, the public dis-

[1] Giovanni Ferrara, "Le Grandi Capitali: Monaco [Munich]," in the artistic review *Emporium*, vol. xi., No. 61 (Bergamo, January, 1900). F. Fontana conveys similar impressions, *In Tedescheria, quadri di un viaggio in Germania* ("In Germany. Sketches of Travel") p. 155. Galli, Milan, 1883.

play of love-relationships cannot but be extremely displeasing to the Italians. Not in the least because they are endowed with more delicate moral susceptibilities. From the Italian, a classic child of nature, prudery is utterly remote; but he comes from a country in which erotic relationships are conducted in a very different manner.

The Germans who cross the Alps have also a surprise in store. Their Italian journey may be on the honeymoon, or it may be that under the influence of some professor of the history of art, on the one hand, or on the other with their imaginations filled by the Italian novels of Paul Heyse—in either case, their heads being stuffed with erroneous preconceptions, they have to experience a succession of disillusionments. Vainly do they seek to pluck golden oranges in the by-streets of Milan; and Italy, they find, is far from being the "ardent land of love," complacently conceived by their Berlinese imagination. It may be in Verona, they are on the look-out for Romeos and Juliets; may be from a Venetian gondola, they crane forth their necks on some similar quest: vainly on the balconies in either city will they seek for a glimpse of even the most insignificant loving couple. In Italy, if we except a few regions in the plain of the Po, no such loving couples can be found as on a summer evening in Germany swarm on the benches of every public garden and square. It would seem at first sight as if the erotic Italian was non-existent. Hardly any lovers are to be seen in the streets. The few couples who may be encountered wandering arm in arm through the streets of Rome will commonly be found on close examination to be German *rentiers* or a travelling German

professor and his wife, French *hommes de lettres*, English "respectables." Even the soldiers, who in Paris, London, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, as in all other cities north of the Alps, enliven street life by the display of their affections every Sunday, go to and fro in Italy without female companionship, roaming, solitary or in groups, with never a grisette, a sweetheart, or (in German barrack slang) a *Mensch*, on the arm. If we were to judge of Italian morality by the life of the streets, it would be necessary to suppose that Cupid had long since abandoned this Garden of the Hesperides, and that all northern poets writing for us love songs of Italy have been liars. In truth they have lied, in so far as they have described love under the Italian sun in terms that apply to love under the foggy skies of London, the snowy skies of Berlin, or the rainy skies of Paris. They have lied, above all, in their descriptions of love in Italy in superlative phraseology, magnified a hundredfold, as more violent, more passionate, more romantic than in the north, as breaking through all restraints, exhibiting its voluptuous phases on all hands, in verdant meadows, beside the azure sea, in dusky laurel groves; love luxuriant and seductive, crowned with vine-leaves and garlanded with roses, covered with many coloured spangles, like a *Marizze-bill*,[1] or rather, like a proud and beautiful woman of Rome in her national dress, fed full of love, and still desirous.

The foreign traveller in Italy must renounce all such alluring and imaginative pictures. His eyes will not be rejoiced by the sight of any love-idyll.

[1] Maria Sibilla, one of the masks seen at the Cologne carnival.

Where he expected to see Romeo and Juliet he will find a cabman quarrelling with a market woman for a few halfpence; and as for the lovely girl with snow-white head cloth crowning her raven locks, he will learn to know her in an aspect of which there has been no hint in the books he has been studying in his own country in order to enlarge his knowledge of Italy. Instead of throwing herself into his arms, glowing with passion, and mad for love, and instead of responding to his virtuous German rejection of her advances with the ever-ready avenging knife, the traveller will see before him a girl with a blank and doll-like face, offering flowers for sale, whose distinctive dress is assumed for the benefit of foreigners, to whom she is ready to serve as a model; she will not murmur terms of endearment to one who buys her flowers, but will very likely swear at one who fails to do so.

In Italy the amatory life and its manifestations are concealed, and this not alone from the foreigners whose knowledge is confined to the streets and to those hotels where the visitor is served in the French manner and fleeced accordingly. Even in the inns of the second and third order, in public-houses, drinking saloons, and restaurants, even to those who come freely in contact with all classes of the population, from nobleman to proletarian, from officer to private, no traces of the erotic life will be visible. Wilhelm Müller; the philhellene and poet, in a letter from Albano,[1] expresses his wonder that

[1] Willhelm Müller, *Rom, Römer, und Römerinnen, eine Sammlung vertrauter Briefe aus Rom und Albano* ("Rome and Roman Men and Women, Confidential Letters from Rome and Albano"), vol. i. p. 84. Duncker and Humblot; Berlin, 1820.

even a betrothed couple may not without loss of reputation walk together or meet in the street unchaperoned. This was written in 1818. But even in the present year, at any rate as far as Central and Southern Italy are concerned, things are still much the same. Everywhere we note the same complete absence of affectionate couples engaged in courtship; everywhere a lack—and this is no less true of Northern Italy—of affectionate husbands and wives. No obvious sign of such relationships is socially permissible.

Yet it would be absurd to maintain that there is less love in Italy than elsewhere. How, then, are the phenomena to be explained? The matter is quite simple. In Italy, erotic manifestations are reserved for the intimate life. In this country it is still firmly held that all the manifestations of sexual love, not excepting the most delicate and those which to northern eyes are most innocent, are altogether out of place in the street, the restaurant, and the drawing-room—out of place, in a word, in public. Their proper field is held to be the private room, hidden from the gaze of strangers—the alcove. Alcove love is of oriental origin, as the very word shows, derived from the Arabic *al-kubbeh*. It is a love which must be hidden in the holy-of-holies. It is a vestige of mediæval Italy and the intimate relationships of that country with the East.

Such being Italian domestic morals, it will readily be understood why the native of Italy, accustomed from earliest youth to take this view of love manifestations, is astonished and revolted, when visiting Munich or Paris, Vienna or Cologne, by what he cannot but regard as the barbarous and utterly

shameless display of love in the public life of these cities. Although to foreigners the Italian, in speech about sexual matters, seems altogether shameless, and appears to lack discretion in his view of affairs indirectly connected with the sexual life, his own erotic experiences are carefully concealed in a manner which, to the foreign observer, seems to push discretion far beyond the limits of prudery.

The German, returning from an Italian journey, draws a breath of relief at the sight of the first loving couple he encounters on his native soil. My wife and I, whenever we revisit Germany, are accustomed to greet the first such pair we encounter with a true German cry of joy—usually somewhat to the astonishment, and even embarrassment, of those concerned. Yet, speaking generally, no sentiment is further from us than that commonly spoken of as "patriotism," if only for the reason that life has been generous enough to make us at home in several countries, and has thus rendered the narrower sentiment of patriotism antipathetic. Some years ago, journeying from Rome to Eisenach, we were taking an evening walk on the wooded slopes of Metilstein. Here every bench was an altar to the service of love, the kisses and embraces hardly interrupted when the passer-by was obviously watching. The effect produced in our minds was stimulating and agreeable, as at the sight of something endowed with primitive grandeur. This was not only because of the pleasant appeal to a romantic tendency, whereby this kind of amatory life was tinged for us with true artistic beauty. It was more than this, for the frank display of the affections, manifesting themselves with positive pride, seemed to us some-

thing finely spontaneous, healthy, vigorous, and full of promise for the future, despite the dreary greyness of social conditions in Germany.

Most startling of all to a stranger, even to a German, is the amatory life of Holland. Here eroticism is everywhere displayed, in a manner to touch the nerves even of the strongest. It is not altogether inconceivable that an innocent girl or an ingenuous youth from some English or Italian country town might pass a month in Paris, walking freely on the boulevards, without thereby coming to learn anything more of love's power than either had known before leaving home. Beyond question, however, it would be utterly impossible for such young persons to pass a quarter of an hour any Sunday in the main streets of Utrecht or The Hague without becoming completely "enlightened" on this matter. In Paris, so far as the streets are concerned, all is calm and discreet; Venus Meretrix, even, plies her trade with discretion; we may see girl students, and more often young working women, promenading decorously in petty bourgeois fashion on the arm of their gallant; neither loud tone nor coarse remark strikes the ear. Nothing occurs to display the internal erotic life, whose existence can be recognised only by the eye of the initiate. In Holland, on the other hand, we see thousands of young lovers of every possible variety, ranging from the pair uniting for a single night to engaged couples foretasting the pleasures of the honeymoon; all these are mingled pell-mell in the streets, or throng the cafés, which, though darker than the streets, are yet well enough lighted for the passer-by to have a good view of embraces and kisses; until late in the night they pass

from pavement to pavement, cuddling and tickling one another shamelessly, grossly, screaming the while, recalling a picture by Jan Van Ostade or Jan Steen; it is savage, abandoned, brutally sensual, a continuous bacchanal, surpassing all bounds; resembling a herd of rutting kine; the air is filled with a confusion of innumerable voices, and from all these varying tones rises the same dominant strain—love of the senses, love of the senses, love of the senses. Less disagreeable, doubtless, than the gross libertinage of the public dances of Berlin, better than clandestine love as practised in the oriental harem, none the less the love-scenes just described are too crude and too audaciously public in character not to produce a painful impression in the unaccustomed spectator.

A similarly graded differentiation of the amatory life to that which can be established by a study of loving couples in the streets of various countries, obtains also, as careful analysis shows, in the domain of prostitution. Within the limits of Germany there are fairly pronounced differences in this respect between north and south, more especially between Prussia, on the one hand, and parts of German Austria, on the other. In North Germany, the prostitute has, as a rule, a more mercenary character; in South Germany, on the other hand, she will commonly prefer to observe some generosity of spirit and personal good feeling in relation to her lover. This difference is proved by a significant practice of the erotic life: the northern prostitute insists on payment in advance, while her southern sister is rather willing to give credit to her clients.[1]

[1] "In Berlin, as throughout North Germany, the prostitute commonly assumes a more business-like manner than in the south. The

In our consideration of prostitution let us go on to compare this institution in Germany and in France. I believe it is possible to sustain the thesis that French prostitution stands morally on a higher level than that of Germany. This is not because Paris has no knowledge of that type of prostitution by which the Friedrichstrasse of nocturnal Berlin has acquired so tragical and repulsive a reputation, alike from the ethical and from the æsthetic standpoint. On the Grands Boulevards, in the Rue Montmartre, at the corner of the Taverne de Strasbourg, at the same hour of the night, *mutatis mutandis*, one sees the same types. But the dreadful forms of

light woman of the night streets of Berlin will ask the proposed client at the very outset of the negotiations, 'How much are you going to give me?' She will allow a man to accompany her home only if he has promised to satisfy her minimum demand. When the couple has reached the girl's room she suddenly begins to bargain afresh. Having got her client thus far, she thinks the moment has come to raise her price. By every means in her power she puts an extra price upon the satisfaction of each one of the client's demands over and above the performance of the simple sexual act. As a rule the fee ranges from three to five shillings, but this only for a short visit of a thoroughly normal character. If the client stays more than a quarter of an hour, or if he wishes the girl to undress, she suddenly puts up her price enormously, more especially if the hour is one in which the streets are still full, so that she might yet hope to find another client. Towards the south the methods of the life of prostitution gradually change. At my first visit to Vienna, I was greatly impressed by the comparative refinement of the practice of prostitution of that town. Certainly, the Viennese prostitute is well aware of the value of money; but she displays more human feeling, and is prepared to believe that one who is well or even decently dressed will not try to evade payment of the customary fee. Owing to this instinctive confidence in her client's generosity, it is repugnant to her to make a bargain beforehand—it would seem to her a vulgar thing to do. Only in the case of a client making some exceptional demand, will she change her tactics." —Camillo Karl Schneider, *Die Prostitution und die Gesellschaft* ("Prostitution and Society"), p. 156. Barth, Leipzig, 1908.

feminine degeneration that manifest themselves in such numbers to the onlooker, and do their best to deprive him of artistic enjoyment in the beautiful Parisian nights, do not themselves bear any characteristically Parisian stamp. In their appearance, in the way they ply their trade, and in their views as to its nature, they are no less international than the men who make use of them for their own purposes. They offer no new phenomenon to the investigator. There is nothing to be seen but one more version of the familiar story, arousing the old sentiment of nausea, and the old feeling of revolt against an order of things by which creatures bearing human form are allowed so inhumanly to fall into shamelessness and disease, to become lost to all moral feeling, and distributors of unending corruption.[1]

But the Paris of the Grands Boulevards is not the whole of Paris. The former is rather the Paris of the foreigner. The Paris of the Parisians will be found elsewhere; there, for instance, where for the past six hundred years the students have lived, in the Quartier Latin, often spoken of in popular phrase simply as "le Quartier"; or where, a century ago, the limits of the old town were marked by a row

[1] Even among these women, class distinctions exist. The better dressed and more expensive among them speak contemptuously of their poorer and worse dressed colleagues as *pierreuses* (this word has a double meaning, implying that the *pierreuse* is as bare of ornament as a pebble, and, secondly, that she lives on the pavement), while the latter repay the former in their own coin with the abusive epithet of *panaches* (beplumed). In addition, there are terms of abuse which are nothing more than market prices, such as *femme d'un franc* and *femme de cinq francs*. "Tu es une femme d'un franc" is a frightful insult.—(See Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *La Femme Prostituée*, p. 566. Paris, 1893.

of stately windmills, at Montmartre. In these districts we find, even to-day, a type of amatory life which differs in important respects from that known in Germany or in Italy.

In the year 1675, Louis XIV. granted to the tailoresses of his capital the right to form a guild, whereas previously this trade had been forbidden to women. It may be said that this gave birth to a specialised type of Frenchwoman—the *grisette*. Thus, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, there did not exist in Paris as many as a score of tailoresses. But, when their position had been recognised, by their pleasing manners, their natural gaiety of disposition, and their happy combination of simplicity and elegance, these girls soon gained many admirers and lovers. Their growing esteem gave them an ever larger clientèle, and led to the steady increase of their own numbers. Already by the end of the seventeenth century they were the queens of the Sunday balls in the faubourgs. But in that epoch the grisette type was not yet perfected. It was still the custom for the apprentices of tailoresses and milliners to "live in," in common dormitories. It was not until after the Bourbon restoration that this practice fell into disuse. After 1827 the milliner who lodged her own hands had become rare. The grisette was now a free woman, set free also for love.

Originally the grisette, the Parisian student's world-famed little sweetheart in bonnet and apron, lived by her own work. She was a sempstress, a milliner, an artificial flower-maker, or a laundress; she had a regular occupation, and was thus economically independent. For this reason she was

mistress of her own body and of her own soul. How far she would give free rein to love was entirely within her own hands. Thus beside the type of grisette in the love-intimacy there existed another type, that of the grisette as comrade, celebrated by Alfred de Musset in an immortal song, Mimi Pinson, who has but one shift, and must therefore treat it with respect, who laughs, sings, drinks, and makes merry, but of whom it is written:—

> "Pour entreprendre sa conquête
> Ce n'est pas tout qu'un beau garçon;
> Faut être honnête.
> Car il n'est pas loin de sa tête
> Le bonnet de Mimi Pinson."

Such were these hard-working and thrifty girls, some day to be the wives of honest workmen.[1]

Undoubtedly the grisette type so widely celebrated in French literature was already in process of disappearance in the time of Henry Murger. Both varieties of grisette were vanishing throughout the time of the Second Empire. The rapid economic development, the transformation of Parisian domestic architecture, and the pursuit of glittering display, which characterised the epoch of the third Napoleon, transferred the centre of gravity of Parisian erotic life from the modest and obscure alleys of the student's quarter towards the new and splendid

[1] *Cf.* the classic pictures, by Henry Murget, *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème*, pp. 232 *et seq.* Calmann-Lévy, Paris. Alfred de Musset, "Mimi Pinson," *Profil de Grisette*, pp. 9 and 32. Lemerre, Paris, 1906. Paul de Kock, *Mon Cousin Raymond*, pp. 34 *et seq.* Roulf, Paris. Leon Gozlan, "Les Maîtresses à Paris," in his work on *Les Parisiennes à Paris*, p. 192. M. Lévy, Paris, 1857.

streets which the Prefect of the Seine, Baron Haussmann, had laid out to the north of the Grands Boulevards, around the Chaussée d'Antin and the church of Notre Dame de Lorette. Parisian eroticism drew nearer to the Palais Royal, which, during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth, was the centre of the lighter amatory life of the town[1]—a life which, taken all in all, resembled rather that of the Grands Boulevards than the Quartier Latin type. At the same time, the *grisette* became gradually transformed into the *cocotte*, or, to use the word of the period, into the *lorette*.[2] The most essential characteristic of the grisette was her independence; in the case of the lorette the very reverse of this was true. To the former, love was an adjunct, an *epitheton ornans*, a subsidiary occupation and a pleasure, in the worst case, a supplementary means of livelihood; to the latter, it was her life, her occupation, a trade, and nothing more. The sweetheart became the kept woman.

The French poet of the day bewailed this metamorphosis in moving strains—motived in part, doubtless, by local sentiments of jealousy and by class feeling. *Les dieux s'en vont!*[3] Vanished with the grisette, to shine over the parvenus across the

[1] Read the descriptions of the *Palais Royal*, in the book thus entitled, by Restif de la Bretonne, new edition. Michaud, Paris, 1908. See also, Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris*, 12 vols. Paris, 1781-89. Xavier de Montépin, "Un Drame en Famille," *Confessions d'un Bohème*, pp. 177 *et seq.* Degorge-Cadot, Paris.

[2] This name is derived from that of the before-mentioned church of Notre Dame de Lorette.

[3] Henri de Kock, *La Reine des Grisettes*. De Vress, Paris, 1861. See the first chapter, "Les Grisettes s'en vont."

river, the magic star which had lighted the students' quarter. The unpretentious ball-room of the *rive gauche* was eclipsed by the flaunting Jardin Mabille. Simultaneously, as meretricious love found its way into the palaces of the financiers, its price became too high for the purses of the students. But even though there were egoistic elements intermingled with the bitter complaints of the men of letters as to the transformation undergone by the amatory life of Paris, these complaints were far from unjustified. With the disappearance of her work, disappeared also the independence of the Parisian light-of-love, and therewith her dignity and self-respect.

None the less, in the Quartier Latin of our own time we find abundant traces of the love-paradise of former days. Are the students' sweethearts of to-day, *les étudiantes*, as they are popularly called, so very different from their predecessors of two generations ago? No doubt, the *ménage à deux*, the life in common of *étudiants* and *étudiantes*, is gradually disappearing. In Paris, and elsewhere, rents rise, and landlords become more exacting. Moreover, the economic changes resulting from the industrial revolution have tended more and more to impress the mercantile stamp upon all varieties of illicit love.[1] Aside from these considerations, there is no such extensive divergence, even in externals, on the part of the modern type from that of fifty years ago. There still survive a few, at least, of the cardinal characteristics wherein the full life of a youth, not so

[1] On the ordinary life of the Parisian *midinette* of to-day we possess an admirable study of great value to the sociologist, in a novel by André Vernières, crowned by the Académie de Goncourt, entitled *Camille Frison, ouvrière de la couture*, Plon-Nourrit, Paris, 1908.

much pleasure-seeking as overflowing with spontaneous joy, formerly found expression. Even in our own day, the *petite femme* of the Quartier takes her amusements on Thursdays and Saturdays dancing in the Jardin Bullier situated between the Luxembourg and Montparnasse—a place which, under its old poetical name of the Closerie du Lilas was immortalised by French writers both of the romantic and of the realistic schools.[1] There still exists as one of the centres of the life of the Quartier, the restaurant Paumier in the rue de l'Ancienne Comédie, but a few yards from the Boulevard St. Germain. This, certainly the oldest house of public entertainment in Paris, is that "Vieux Procope" where Molière and Boileau drank coffee long ago.[2] The environment, too, has to a considerable extent remained unchanged. The figures encountered in this old centre of Parisian amatory life, the fashions to be seen there, the manners and the customs—all reinforce the conviction that in these matters and in this district of the Ville Lumière the forces of conservation are still powerful.

The chief difference between the prostitution of Berlin and that of Paris consists in the different estimates of the priestesses of Venus taken in these respective cities, in the first place, by public opinion in general, and secondly, as a result of this, but yet more important, by the men who make use of their services.

In Paris the prostitute is far more highly esteemed. In Germany, as also in Italy and in England, she

[1] Recent news from Paris is to the effect that the owner has sold the site of the Jardin Bullier, which will shortly be occupied by a building in five storeys. *Les Sylphides des Bosquets cacheront leurs visages en fondant en larmes. Sic transit gloria mundi!*

[2] This restaurant is mentioned by Montesquieu in his *Lettres Persanes*, p. 294. Firmin Didot, Paris, 1891.

is commonly regarded, and therefore treated, as an utterly debased creature, as a mere instrument of masculine pleasure, who is used, but at the same time despised by the user, and considered as an outcast. Hardly has she performed the service required of her than the man thrusts her brutally away with as little consideration as he would throw away a squeezed lemon. She is a woman to be known only *en déshabillé*, never to be saluted if met in the public streets. In France, on the other hand, the prostitute, even to-day, largely plays the part which in Athens of old gave the hetaira her importance and her fame.

There are countries in which the pride of the national character has created a yet higher concept of prostitution, and hence of the prostitute herself. From Spain comes the adage concerning the light women of that country: *El cuerpo de una mujer no es pagadero* ("A woman's body is not an article of merchandise"). The fee given by the client to the woman for the satisfaction of his sexual needs is not regarded as the price paid for services rendered, but as an oblation to the priestess of Venus which she will spend for her maintenance.[1] For the Spaniard, every act determined by a monetary consideration is contemptible. In face of such a view, even the prostitute endeavours in every possible way to raise the status of her profession. Just as in Spain the inborn pride of the national character has tended to ennoble a thing not intrinsically noble, so also in Paris, a strongly developed sentiment of human dignity has brought into existence a number of feminine types, which exist perhaps elsewhere, but

[1] Bernaldo de Quiros y Llanas Aguilaniedo, *La Mala vida en Madrid* ("Low Life in Madrid"), p. 204. Rodriguez Sierra, Madrid, 1901.

in far smaller numbers than in the Babel on the Seine. Even the commoner sort of prostitute who "respects herself"—not perhaps one of those who haunt the Taverne de Lorraine in the rue des Ecoles, but one of those who in some corner of the neighbouring Taverne Pascal passes hours playing tric-trac or dominoes—does not merely demand respectful treatment from her gallant, but insists upon the presence of certain emotional factors as essential preliminaries to the sexual act. That most repulsive species of "love" in three movements, the sailor-on-leave type of sexual love, which prevails so largely in England, Germany, and in Italy—accosting, hurrying home, sexual act—is regarded by the women of Paris, if the most debased stratum of prostitution be excepted, as vulgar and low. They will have nothing to do with an altogether unknown man; they demand first some comradely intimacy, they want to know what sort of man he is, and how he spends his life. They make a stringent demand for the preambles of love, and for the possibilily of a certain degree of physical sympathy and mental affinity to render capable on their part some faculty of erotic response. For this reason, even in relations with wealthy men, they often fail to reach the top of their market.[1] To such a woman the sale of her person, if not regarded merely as a tragic necessity, will yet seem far from being the central feature of her life. Parisian prostitutes exhibit a really surprising need for purity and for disinterested sexual comradeship, far more frequently than foreign visitors to the town, and even Parisian men of letters,

[1] In all countries it is a well-known fact that the prostitute is ashamed to take money from the man she loves.

are aware. The foreign visitor is accustomed to regard Paris merely as a pleasure city and centre of corruption; in some cases because he himself comes there solely in search of pleasure and in pursuit of corruption, and either from intellectual sterility or in indolent pleasure-seeking mood makes no attempt at any real understanding of the psychology of the people; in other cases, because he is a writer of romances about Parisian life. Those of the latter type, hardly troubling to conceal their bias, in frank pursuit of pecuniary profit, and trading upon the bad taste and the ignorance of their provincial and foreign readers, furnish ever-renewed descriptions of the debased morals of a small, degenerate stratum of Parisian society. The studies of erotic life thus conceived are then disseminated all over the world, and lower the general reputation of Frenchwomen in a manner altogether irreparable.[1]

[1] The most appalling picture of the Frenchwoman is that of Henry Becque. In his comedy, *La Parisienne*, his male characters adopt as their own device, "Allons, les hommes ne sont guère heureux; célibatère ou cocu, il y a bien peu de choix" ("For us poor devils of men there is but little choice in life; we are either bachelors or cuckolds") [*La Parisienne*, vol. ii. p. 291. Théatre]. In the same way classical French authors have contributed by their writings to create an idea of the Frenchwoman little favourable from the moral point of view. Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his "Lettre à Julie sur les Parisiennes," in which he depicts the Frenchwoman as the ideal friend, the most accomplished and intelligent person in the world, but speaks badly of her as a woman, concludes thus: "Je n'aurai jamais pris à Paris ma femme, encore moins ma maîtresse, mais je m'y serais fait volontiers une amie" ("Nothing would induce me to choose a wife in Paris; still less a mistress; but I would gladly choose there a woman friend"), [Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, "Œuvres complètes," vol. iv. p. 31. Lefebvre, Paris, 1829]. At an earlier date Montesquieu had insisted on the looseness of language and actions of Frenchwomen, whereby many observers were deceived as to their real character. He wrote: "Elles

Many Parisian girls make a sharp distinction between the men to whom they are forced to give themselves for professional purposes; and the friends, the *copains*, students for the most part, with whom they associate, share the mid-day meal in a restaurant, play cards, walk in the Luxembourg, make excursions, but with whom they remain on terms of friendship. From these associates they demand comradeship only, and they repay in the same coin. The intercourse between the two is one of perfect social equality, in which the girl's means of livelihood are altogether ignored. She is treated with the respect due to a social equal. Many of these women have also an *amant de cœur*, and it is a point of

portent toutes dans leur cœur un certain caractère de vertu qui y est gravé, que la naissance donne, et que l'éducation affaiblit, mais ne détruit pas" ("Engraved upon the heart of every Frenchwoman is a certain character of virtue; it is inborn, and though enfeebled by education, is not thereby destroyed"), [Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, p. 280. F. Didot, Paris, 1891.] Alphonse Daudet, who knew the Frenchwoman as none other has known her before or since, in a conversation with Goncourt (see the latter's *Journal*, April 2nd, 1889), expressed his indignation at the practice, in the novels of French life, of giving the female characters passions tropical in their intensity. Far more justly did Molière, in the preface to one of his plays, insist that the Frenchwoman is *plus intellectuelle que sensuelle*. Among Daudet's own feminine characters, housewifely types predominate over prostitute types, chaste women are far commoner than unchaste (*cf.* Comtesse de Magallan, "La Femme dans l'œuvre d'Alphonse Daudet," *Revue des Revues*, vol. xxx. p. 52. 1899). The essential nature of the Frenchwoman is somewhat vauntingly described by Brieux in his drama *La Française*, wherein is emphasised her fundamental virtuousness, despite appearances to the contrary resulting from her tendencies to *coquetterie* (1907). Consult also Romain Rolland, the second volume of his *Jean Christophe à Paris*, entitled *Antoinette* (Soc. d'Ed. Littéraires et Artistiques). Marcel Prévost, in the preface to his novel *Les Demi-vierges*, thinks it necessary to point out that the type he describes, though common enough in France, is yet less common there than in other countries. Even the great campaign against

honour between the two that their sexual relationship should be one of perfect purity. At the Procope the writer made the acquaintance of a girl, a certain M . . . P . . ., who in the evenings was to be found playing tric-trac at Pascal's, or dancing at the Jardin Bullier. This girl's history, learned from her own mouth, and confirmed by the statements of certain women by no means inclined to speak of her with indulgence, though it is perhaps not to be regarded as the rule, is yet far from exceptional among those of her way of life. Belonging to a middle-class family—her father owned a small jeweller's shop—she had intimate relations with her betrothed, a man sexually experienced. Becoming pregnant, she was abandoned alike by betrothed and by father. Having given birth to a daughter, she made up her mind not to send it to the foundling hospital, but to devote all

immorality of R. Béranger, senator and membre de l'Institut—which, unfortunately, like all such campaigns, at times transgresses over the boundary into the region of the comic—is largely determined by the motive that unless the *police des mœurs* take more energetic action, foreigners will derive utterly false ideas of the French people. In an article entitled "Pour les Mœurs" Béranger exclaims: "Are our repute and our honour abroad matters worthy of no attention? Can we tolerate that unscrupulous speculators should throw discredit on our morals and dishonour on our women, and should attribute exclusively to the great and moral nation of France habits and vices which are no commoner here than in other lands?" (*L'Echo de Paris*, March 2nd, 1906).

Beyond question, in French society there is a great variety of women, and among these will be found alike the Frenchwoman of Brieux and the Parisian woman of Becque. But it is necessary to enter a vigorous protest against the extravagant and fantastic notion that Frenchwomen as a whole are frivolous in type and constitutionally inclined to all possible kinds of sexual devilry. Those who have some acquaintance with Frenchwomen are well aware that, speaking generally, not merely are they not inferior to the women of other countries, but that in certain respects they occupy a higher plane.

her energies to securing a good life for the child, and to educate her in such a way as to safeguard her, as far as this was possible to human foresight, from her mother's fate. She tried at first to make a living as a sempstress. Finding it impossible to earn sufficient in this way, she took to prostitution as a means of livelihood in default of a better, placing her daughter in a high-class boarding-school near Paris. "Afin qu'elle puisse avoir les mêmes penchants intellectuels que moi sans en souffrir tellement."[1] Every Sunday M. goes to visit her daughter, accompanied by her *amant de cœur*, an artillery officer, with whom her relations are strictly platonic. "To him I give," she says, "what no other can have from me, my chastity." She is young, beautiful, and gracious, yet simple and reserved in manner—in a word, *une vaillante fille*. Such a character is a puzzle for moralists.

There is another category of women who have the very opposite conception of the relationships between sexual love and work. Of the type just described it may be said, without straining the truth too greatly, that they practice prostitution—on a somewhat higher level, doubtless, than women of the same stratum in other countries—in order to secure means for the satisfaction of their moral needs. But women of the second order work very hard to be able to make themselves independent of prostitution, in the rigidly mercantile sense of that term. These women experience an extraordinarily powerful need for independence. They are not purchasable. They are affected with a powerful craving for sexual enjoyment and sexual variety—a craving in some cases, perhaps,

[1] "I should like her to have the same intellectual tastes as her mother, without suffering thereby to the same extent."

pathological in origin; in others, it may be, the outcome of faulty social conditions. There are girls in Paris with slender means, but many of them well educated, who work hard all day simply in order to be able in the evening to enjoy the luxury of intercourse with a lover, one freely chosen, from whom they will not take a farthing. Thus in these cases we have to do with workers by profession who use their honestly earned money in the gratification of their unruly sexual desires, and in some cases even support the men who please them.[1] It is necessary to add that the women of this latter category, like those of the one previously mentioned, are valued by the men with whom they come in contact, not simply for their bodily gifts, but also for their mental endowments. It is really extraordinary to note the high degree of artistic culture attained by many of these women. At *déjeuner* with their *copains* the subjects of discussion are largely of a serious character.[2]

[1] Many prostitutes also maintain lovers out of their earnings. But they derive the means for this, not by ordinary work, but by the sale of their persons. The distinction between this practice and that of the girls described in the text is both clear and important.

[2] Theodor Wolff, a man intimately acquainted with Parisian life, writes:—"Paris has the effect of an electrical machine. The atmosphere is so exciting that it is impossible in this city to remain altogether dull and heavy. Young working women are daily subjected to the influence of a thousand stimuli without being fully aware of the fact. Their intelligence is sharpened and their interest awakened as to countless matters which have nothing to do with their daily work. This happens for the very reason that these things have nothing to do with their daily work. They chatter in the workrooms of the latest piece at the theatre, of the Salon, of what they have read in the papers, and what they have seen for themselves. The culture the girls thus acquire is slight, dispersed, and frivolous, but it is enough to save them from becoming blind and deaf beasts of burden" (Theodor Wolff, *Pariser Tagebuch*, p. 55. A. Langen, Munich, 1908).

Certain objections may doubtless be raised even against this somewhat higher form of extra-conjugal sexual life. A young woman of keen intelligence, an enthusiastic advocate of her own ideas, a Trade Union secretary from Switzerland, engaged in social studies in Paris, said to me: "The forms assumed by the amatory life of this city are far more immoral than the German. In Germany people are at any rate gradually coming to recognise that prostitution is a social curse, and they are ashamed of it; even those who make use of the institution find it repulsive. In Paris, on the contrary, vice is crowned with flowers and treated with every indulgence. For these very reasons its true nature is disguised from view."

It seems to me that my Swiss friend was wrong. It would have been better had she directed her attention to another aspect of the Parisian type of prostitution—namely, to the force of attraction it is able to exercise upon young men of refined sensibilities. It is a fact that men who in Germany are repelled by the gross sensuality, the coarseness, the heartlessness, and crude ugliness of German prostitution, find in the Bohemian life of France an environment favourable to the growth of their idealism, and thus far more readily give themselves up to the seductions of this life—to use the word seduction in its wider signification rather than in the more limited sense often foolishly given to it.

It seems to me beyond dispute that these finer forms of the amatory life of Paris correspond to the old, lofty, refined civilisation which persists, even to-day, in France. Side by side with this more refined amatory life, and more or less inti-

mately interwoven with it, there exist, it need hardly be repeated, the lowest forms of prostitution, that of the street and the lupanar,[1] the choicer forms of elegant relationships met with in the so-called demi-monde, and marriage in its manifold varieties. But the finer forms of the extra-conjugal amatory life of Paris must be regarded as the accompaniments of a higher stage in human evolution. This is true no less as regards ethical values than in the matter of æsthetic differentiation. Prostitution may be defined as a series of acts in which, for payment, a woman surrenders the use of her body to others. Such a definition must be completed by the addition that in the performance of the sexual act the prostitute is altogether indifferent as to the personality of her client.[2] In this view, prostitution, properly so-called, implies the negation of any personal and individual value, excludes all relationships of the moral order, and is invested with a character exclusively mercantile. It appears incontestable that Parisian prostitution, as I have endeavoured to sketch it, represents a tendency to save from shipwreck at least a vestige of human self-respect. The girl gives herself for

[1] The lupanars or brothels of France stand certainly at a lower level than those of Germany, Italy, or elsewhere. In the French brothels it is a common custom, on the entrance of a client, for a number of the girls to stand side by side, and, as a rule, with obscene gestures, to strip themselves to the skin—a practice which, in the case of men with even a spark of refinement, seems more likely to extinguish desire than to arouse it. Such shamelessness as that of the Paris brothels I have never encountered elsewhere in the course of my investigations, not even in the lowest brothels of Rome, where the fee is but one lira.

[2] Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time* [English translation], pp. 319-21. Rebman, London, 1908; *id.*, *Die Prostitution*, 1912, Kap. I.

money, it is true, but not to the first comer; she has need, not only of clients, but of male friends with whom her relations are non-sexual, persons with whom she can enjoy frank, comradely intercourse, with whom she can discuss matters of general interest, by whom she is regarded, not as a paid instrument of sexual pleasure, but as a free human personality. Such a girl retains her own sense of personal dignity, is not completely outside human moral values, has not altogether lost her *humanity*. It is a matter of actual experience that in these strata of French prostitution a certain degree of social idealism still persists. In times of political convulsion it has been found that among the *petites femmes* are women—their profession notwithstanding, and precisely because that profession is not the whole of life to them—possessed of ideal aims, for which they are willing to give even their lives. By vocation and by temperament they are heroines, and only as the outcome of a vicious education and a disastrous economic system have they come to ply the trade and bear the name of prostitute.[1]

The comparison of this type of prostitute with the German throws into relief the difference in moral values between the one and the other. It is hardly necessary to point out that the type of free hetaira as depicted in this chapter is not regarded

[1] Attention may be drawn here to the important part in French literature and art played by *les femmes folles de leurs corps*. In two other nations only do we find them in a similar rôle. The first of these, of course, is classical Greece. The second is Japan, where some of the women of the Yoshiwara have exercised a conspicuous influence on art and literature—to give one instance only, upon an artist of the supreme value of Utamaro Chitagawa.

by the author as the ideal type of the woman of the future, or even of our own day. In a subsequent chapter, in which the attempt is made to throw light upon prostitution more especially in relation to the proletariat, it will be shown that prostitution is to be rejected in all its forms. We have to strive by all available means to effect a transformation of our economic life, whereby from an actual institution prostitution shall be rendered one of merely historical interest. To-day, however, our chief concern is with the conditions of to-day, and we have to pass judgment on the forms of life as we find them. It is the author's profound conviction that it would be a matter for general congratulation if the before-described variety of Parisian amatory life were the lowest known form of extra-conjugal sexual relationships. If this were so, the task of social hygiene would be far less onerous.

CHAPTER II.

INTERMEDIATE STAGES OF SEXUAL MORALITY IN WOMAN.

Unscientific Character of Sharp Delimitations in Matters of Sexual Morals—"Legitimate" and "Illegitimate" Children—"Respectable" Prostitution—Brothel Workrooms—Demi-viergeisme in Public Dancing-Saloons.

THE new sexual ethic, whose sun is already seen rising above the horizon, but whose rays are still pale and weak, and lack sufficient force to arouse a new moral life, finds its most powerful enemy in hypocrisy. Even the man of clean habits and noble thoughts is often found to-day taking sides against the new ethic, owing to the fact that his upbringing has burdened him with so heavy a load of prejudices that, amid the feverish haste and bustle of modern life, he finds no time to free his spirit of this incubus. But the most active enemy of the newly germinating life—about whose forms discussion still runs high—is to be found in the region where light and shade are intermingled, in the chiaroscuro of the social organism. Here flourish those elements whose interest it is, in so far as they are morally infect, to maintain the old and corrupt forms, precisely because their own lack of morality thrives exceedingly well in association with the old sexual order. The institutions of to-day are most convenient for those whose interest it is to conceal themselves behind the paragraphs of the law and the stupidity of public opinion.

The law recognises rigid norms only, and closes its eyes to all intermediate stages. In the matter of sexual relationships, two groups of women only are known to law--regulated prostitutes and respectable women.[1] Officially, a woman must belong to one category or the other. Between the two is a great gulf fixed—a gulf bridged from time to time by some zealous custodian of the established order who succeeds in effecting the transfer of some woman from the respectable class to the other, which is not done without frequent disastrous misunderstandings and a strange confusion of ideas.[2]

In these matters statistical inquiry imitates the law. We see this most clearly in the statistical treatment of births. According to law, every child born in legal marriage is legitimate, even when the father is certainly some other person than the mother's husband, and even when this fact is fully admitted by all concerned.[3] Circumstances of this kind have no bearing upon the question of legitimacy. *Is pater est, quem nuptiae demonstrant.* Statistically, births are either "legitimate" or "illegitimate," and

[1] In England, where prostitution is unregulated, the statement broadly applies, with the omission of the qualifying term, "regulated." —TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

[2] Concerning the evil working of the legal regulations for the control of prostitution in the hands of the official guardians of the law, see, *inter alia*, E. Shandha, "La Prostitution et la Police," *La Revue Blanche*, anno. xiii., No. 222, Paris, 1902; and *Tagebuch einer Verlorenen*, by Margarete Böhme, pp. 215 *et seq.* Berlin, 1906. [English translation published under the title, *The Diary of a Lost One.* London, 1908.]

[3] "A year and a half ago a citizen of Dresden instituted proceedings for divorce on the ground of his wife's adultery. Husband and wife had long lived apart. The wife, who had entered into a sexual relationship with another man, became pregnant and gave birth to a child. On these grounds, the divorce was granted, the wife's adultery being

must be registered as one or the other. The whole vast rubric of "illegitimate births under the ægis of marriage" is completely ignored. It has to be admitted that the constitution of this third rubric is beyond the competence of statistical inquiry.[1] Fatherhood is a mystery which eludes scientific determination. None the less, the statistical classification of births as legitimate and illegitimate is fruitful of error. For this reason it is most misleading to deduce the moral superiority of one

thus legally established. After the legal proceedings had come to an end, the divorced woman married her lover, and took the child to his house. When this child was eighteen months old, the second husband brought an action against the first to enforce the payment of a maintenance allowance. In support of this action he contended that the child was born when the other marriage still subsisted, and he expected the legal father of the child to provide for the expense of its upbringing. Although it was proved that the first husband could not possibly be the father, since he had never been near his wife at the time of the conception, the court had no option in the matter, and was forced to order the payment of maintenance. The legal position was simply that the child had been born during the continuance of the first legal marriage. The former husband had omitted to contest its legitimacy within the year's limit allowed for this purpose by law. He is therefore constrained by law to support a child born of the illegitimate relations of his former wife from whom he was then separated, and from whom he is now divorced. He has to support the child whose birth was the essential cause of the divorce" (*Mutterschutz*, 1907).

[1] It may be noted that certain sociologists advocate that this statistical and legal distinction between legitimacy and illegitimacy of birth should be abolished. In the first years of the Italian parliament, the deputy Morelli introduced a bill in which were the following two articles:—Art. 4. In deference to justice and to human dignity the odious distinction between legitimacy and illegitimacy of birth is hereby abolished. Art. 5. Every child of an Italian mother, without distinction of sex, is of legitimate birth. (Salvatore Morelli, *La donna e la scienza e la soluzione del problema sociale* [Woman and Science, and the solution of the Social Problem], p. 256. Naples, 1869).—It need hardly be said that such a radical reform as this would become possible only on a matriarchal basis.

country over another on the ground that in the former the percentage of illegitimate births is smaller than it is in the latter; for if it were possible to take into consideration the great unknown element of illegitimate births under the ægis of marriage, which are all statistically classed as legitimate, it is conceivable that we might find the true relationship between countries in the matter of the percentage of illegitimate births to be the reverse of what it appears.[1]

It is precisely the moral intermediate stages—and also the physical intermediate stages, for such exist as well—which claim our keenest interest and attention. Yet the existence of these intermediate stages is to-day altogether unrecognised through wide circles, even of those habitually engaged in scientific investigation. It is, however, of the first importance that those who earnestly pursue knowledge should

[1] Quite recently there has come into being a school of thought, represented among others by Victor Margueritte in his novel *Le Tallion*. The members of this school no longer regard fatherhood as a physiological function, but as educative in its scope. With Lucio D'Ambra (*Avanti*, Anno. xiii., No. 192), they proclaim "The sole principle which is always true, always just, and above all necessary, as the essential foundation of the family, is that derived from Roman Law, *Is pater est, quem nuptiæ demonstrant.* Alike morally and socially this principle is sound and definitive. But it is also sentimentally right. For who is the true father? He who unwittingly has brought the child into being, or he who day by day, hour after hour, with ineffable suffering, with heart-racking anxiety, has watched over the little life, and in a spirit of infinite love has protected and cherished it? Which of the two has been most loving? Which of the two has most right to be loved? The love of the former is made up of egoism and pleasure, the love of the latter of altruism and pain. The former's share in fatherhood is mechanically and brutally real. The latter's share has the eternal and sublime profundity of the ideal." This idea, however, is incompetent to provide a solution for the problems of fatherhood.

avoid closing their eyes to the plain facts of life. Only because the intermediate stages of morality are ignored is it possible to the more ignorant and hypocritical opponents of the new sexual morality to condemn this latter from the lofty altitude of a supposed perfect purity.

A prostitute living in the centre of a leading Italian town, whose charms—and these were far from overwhelming—were at the disposal of men of elegance, but "only on introduction," said one day, "But I beg you to understand that I am a respectable woman." When this respectable woman observed a somewhat bitter smile on the face of her auditor, she added, not without pride, the following expressive declaration, "Do you think then that I allow my lovers to greet me in the street? Certainly not! No one salutes me in the street." The manner in which she spoke showed beyond the possibility of mistake that she was not speaking for effect. On the contrary, she was firmly convinced that the discretion with which she plied her trade resulted not merely in the keeping up of appearances, but in the preservation of her own intimate honour, so that she was self-satisfied that her morality was entirely above reproach. Her expression, "I am a respectable woman," was a sincere piece of autobiography.

In many places, Turin among them, there exist dressmakers' and milliners' workrooms, usually on the second or third storey of large and well-filled buildings, distinguished by no outward mark from any other workroom. The girls do actually work here as dressmakers or milliners. Anyone who comes in unexpectedly will find them diligently engaged about their business. They take in orders in

the usual way. Only the initiate is aware that the ostensible occupation is a side-issue, which serves to cover a very different profession. In these workrooms a circle of men belonging to the well-to-do classes, most of them in good social position and past their first youth, find what they desire, secret commerce of a non-compromising character with "respectable" girls. The girls, on the other hand, find also that which they desire, comparatively high earnings without scandal. I have personally questioned a number of these young women about their economic and social position. Whereas, if they confined their energies to the needle, their average monthly earnings would be about £3 10s., by the addition of the supplementary profession they can secure about £8 a month. Socially, moreover, they thus retain the reputation of unblemished girls. It is possible, if not probable, that some of the parents are tacitly aware of the twofold occupation of their daughters, and of the source of the money they bring home at night. But in most instances this is certainly not the case. One of the dressmakers with whom I discussed the matter—a pretty rather pallid girl of respectable appearance and quiet behaviour—drew up her petticoat as if for scientific demonstration, and showed me her underclothing. She wore long, thick, black woollen stockings and knickerbockers. "It would never do," she said, "if my clothing were of a kind to lead my parents, when I go home in the evening, to guess how I spend my day. I should have a time of it!" However this may be, these demi-prostitutes lead a life which in outward aspect differs in no way from that of their colleagues who are simple operatives.

They stop work every day at dinner-time, and usually go home to dinner. They sleep at home every night. They do no work on Sundays, but on this day go out walking, taking a little brother by the hand, or perhaps accompanied by a fiancé, or it may be with their parents. Outside the narrow circle of their clients, no one suspects their duplex social function.[1]

In this connection it is an interesting fact that in one of the countries of Northern Europe certain legal authorities have aimed at forcing those who practise supplementary prostitution into the ranks of the regular prostitutes. They do this with the best intentions in the world, hoping that by the use of the strong hand they will make these women confine themselves to an honest trade. In Denmark, in October, 1907, the regulation of prostitution and the compulsory medical examination of prostitutes were abolished; but at the same time the police were given power, in specified cases, to arrest prostitutes for vagabondage. In a concrete instance, an October-

[1] According to an article by Felix Block in the *Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* ("Journal for the Campaign against Venereal Diseases"), 1909, many of the workwomen of the city of Bielefeld, engaged in the manufacture of linen cloth, go every Saturday to the city of Hanover, nearly seventy miles away, where no one is personally acquainted with them, to practice prostitution, and return every Monday morning to work in the factory at Bielefeld. If this statement is accurate, we have here an instance of supplementary prostitution, arising partly from the excessive love of pleasure not infrequently met with in factory workers, and partly from the insufficiency of their wages; but certainly much favoured by the ease of communication characteristic of the modern age. These Westphalian workwomen differ from the dressmakers of Turin, in part by the employment of the week-end, which by the former is devoted to licence and the latter to the respectabilities of domestic life, and in part by the differing ratios in the two cases between the preponderant and the supplementary profession.

woman (by this name are known the light women in Denmark), sempstress by profession, but gaining the greater part of her livelihood by the sale of her body, was arrested on this charge. The court of first instance, disregarding the plea of the King's procurator, acquitted the accused, and the decision was confirmed by the court of appeal. In this decision the judges took the view that prostitution is not a punishable offence in cases in which it is not the sole means of livelihood, but is merely accessory to some decent occupation. In Denmark, therefore, to have a supplementary profession safeguards the prostitute from the law.

Although the moral consequences of such intermediate social conditions may be open to discussion, there can be no possible doubt that in the economic sphere the results are disastrous. Prostitutes engaged in a supplementary trade constitute yet another group of those very numerous women whose occupation is not a vital need, but a mere accessory. Among such may be mentioned the girls of good family who work in their own homes at embroidery or fine sewing to earn pocket money for their little pleasures, married women, widows with pensions, women with small private means, workgirls partially supported by their lovers. These different types of women, not having to gain their whole livelihood, unconsciously co-operate to depress the average wage of whatever branch of industry they undertake. The net result is that, for those workwomen solely dependent on their earnings from the trade, wages are forced down below subsistence level.

The sempstress who practises supplementary prostitution is by no means the most depraved of her kind.

Alfredo Niceforo, the anthropologist, has shown—and his statements are endorsed by a young novelist[1]—that there are workrooms in Rome in which the girls "amuse themselves," earn money thereby, and still preserve their virginity as the capital which will help them to marriage in the future.[2] In this case, as in the former, we find the same outward respectability, the same ignorance on the part of the parents concerning the doings of these demi-prostitutes. Outside their workrooms these girls are to be met with in certain dancing halls—but only during the daytime. How do girls find their way there? They do not go by invitation, but simply as chance permits. The superintendent of the workroom, or the head of the shop where the girl is employed, as the case may be, sends her out on business. She seizes the opportunity to spend an hour, half an hour, or even a few minutes, at the dancing hall. There, in many cases, she meets her lover. More often, however, it is a stranger, the first comer, who offers her a glass of wine, and takes a turn with her at the dance. In the ante-room there is to be seen an incredible quantity of parcels, satchels, handbags, packets of books. The last-named belong to young school-teachers. Adjoining the restaurant is another room, like the room behind a shop. In this the dancers gladly take refuge for a time "to freshen themselves up," and amuse themselves by turning out the gas. The porter immediately appears, a respectable bearded

[1] G. Petrai, *Quelle Signorine*. M. Cara, Rome, 1908. See also E. Guglielmetti, *La lavoratrice dell'ago a Roma* ("The Roman Sempstress"), pp. 54-5. Rome, 1904.

[2] Alfredo Niceforo and Scipio Sighele, *La mala vita a Roma* ("Low Life in Rome"), pp. 104 *et seq.* Turin, 1898.

man, the guardian of order and morality, to light it again. From minute to minute, as he has to do this, he may be heard shouting in stentorian tones, "What are you about? Where do you think you have got to?" In many cases the dance is protracted, and finally leads the girl to the dwelling of the gay squire, and in that case the mother, the superintendent, or the shopkeeper, may wait long for her return.

What leads all these girls to the dancing saloon? Assuredly not the love of dancing for its own sake. We have rather to do with an ostensibly decent and more elevated form of prostitution. In these places we meet women of the middle class, wearing hats, cloaks, and gloves. Whilst the unfortunate husband is hard at work in his office, the wife goes "dancing," to make up the deficit in the domestic budget which her life of pleasure has thrown into disorder beyond her husband's earning powers to repair. But most of the female visitors are young girls, with whom great liberties may be taken. No one need be afraid of making them blush. Gallant phrases will be well received, an obscene jest will not be taken in bad part, and the squire may without fear seize the favourable opportunity to venture upon a kiss, a squeeze, a loose embrace—it will not be thought amiss. But beyond this, as a rule, these girls will not allow themselves to be "corrupted"; they will not "fall." He only who can arouse love, or he who has plenty of money at his disposal, can overcome their resistance. Speaking generally, they regard marriage as the main business in life, and they seek and find opportunities for marriage elsewhere. In the dancing saloon they are in pursuit of minor ends.

There they stake nothing and lose nothing; they go up to a certain point and stop short.[1] All, or almost all, have a fiancé in view, and pass at home for little saints. Any one who meets them in the street will see them going about their business with such a quiet and sober air that he will be inclined to look upon them as of the type of Lucrece or Susannah.

We thus have a whole series of types whose classification is very difficult. Consider the before-mentioned sempstresses of Turin. Which is their "chief occupation," and which their "supplementary occupation"? Are we to class them among the "prostitutes," or among the "sempstresses"? In actual fact they belong to both these categories; and it would need a detailed examination of their budget and also of their daily life to enable us to decide, in the case of any particular one of these girls, which of the two is her predominant occupation. Even more difficult than the economic classification of the sempstresses of Turin is the moral classification of the girls who frequent the dancing saloons of Rome. Unquestionably, judged by the standards of our sentiment and our healthy instinct, these demi-vierges are more corrupt, more repugnant than those women who are fully given up to prostitution. But judged by the current code of sexual morality, which concerns itself above all with the preservation of physical virginity, though they stand on the borderland between good and evil, they are still on this side of the abyss.

[1] G. Petrai, *Quelle Signorine*, pp. 30 *et seq.* A similar type of woman is described by Alfred Deutsch-German in his sketches of Viennese women, *Wiener Mädel*, p. 87, 4th edition. H. Seeman, Berlin.

It is hardly necessary to go out of our way to answer the possible objection that such intermediate stages as have been described exist only among the Latin nations, and that a really moral people, such as the Germans, for instance, produces nothing of the kind. This criticism would be utterly unwarranted. Elsewhere I adduce abundant statistical and sociological material to prove, as it seems to me beyond the possibility of doubt, that sexual morals in Italy are, at any rate, no lower than those of other lands, not excepting Germany.[1] Germany, in fact, in my opinion, abounds in sexual morbid manifestations.

The purport of these considerations, in a matter which would well repay a yet more detailed consideration, is simply to show, with the aid of certain logical inferences and of examples drawn from actual life, that in sexual matters, as in other departments of nature, abrupt transitions are unknown. The existence of extreme types is, of course, undeniable; but these extremes are not separated by void abysses; they are always connected by transitional types, merging insensibly one into the other. As soon as we recognise this fact, we see that the harsh moralists are wrong in the way they base their reasoning upon moral norms which are devoid of natural counterpart. A glance at the purely ethical aspect of the problem suffices to teach us that the criterion by which we must judge of moral degrees in sexual love must be sought elsewhere than in the occupation or in the physiological condition of the individual.

[1] These materials will be found in a book still in course of preparation entitled *Indagini statistiche e sociologiche sulla morale sessuale in Italia* ("Statistical and Sociological Studies concerning Sexual Morals in Italy").

CHAPTER III.

THE PROSTITUTE AS THE "OLD MAID" OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Rarity of the Old-maid Type in the Working Classes—Need for Early Marriage in the Proletariat—Difficulties of attaining to Marriage in the Middle and Upper Classes, and the consequent Need for Prostitution—Etiology of Prostitution—Ineffective and Effective Methods for the Abolition of Prostitution.

THE huge army of women who are almost entirely excluded from any intense enjoyment of life, denoted in the frank cruelty of popular speech by the term old maids,[1] are found especially in the middle and lower middle class. But this phenomenon is practically confined to the bourgeoisie. Among the proletariat it is almost unknown.

In the ranks of the well-to-do classes there are thousands upon thousands of excellent unmarried women, superfluous aunts and elder sisters, who have been forced to renounce marriage, and therewith, as things are to-day, to renounce something far more important—namely, any hope of sexual satisfaction. In the working class on the other hand—and this is a matter which throws into sharp relief the striking

[1] The very name given to such women shows that they are regarded mockingly. In Germany they are termed, not only *alte Jungfern* (old maids), but more colloquially *alte Schachteln*. (old boxes); in Southern Italy they are known as *gigli* (lilies), but they are comparatively rare here, as indeed throughout Italy.

difference in the conditions of existence of the various classes—the mature woman who remains a maid, in the strictly physiological sense of the term, is an altogether abnormal phenomenon. The preservation of virginity depends upon continued supervision and satisfactory housing conditions. The working-class girl knows neither the one nor the other. With rare exceptions, among wage-earning women, such as factory and agricultural workers, over thirty years of age, we find none unmarried. It is only those proletarian women engaged in personal service in bourgeois houses as cooks, housemaids, parlourmaids, etc., that constitute an exceptional category of unmarried proletarian women. Even in their case, the occupation is, as a rule, transitional merely, a stage on the way to marriage.

At the first glance, to those who have made no study of social science, the remarkable fact that among the possessing classes so many women remain unmarried, and among the working classes so very few, may seem altogether inexplicable—the outcome of pure chance. An attentive examination, however, will not fail to throw light upon the matter, and to prove that the phenomenon is of purely economic causation. The young man belonging to the lower classes experiences an urgent need, alike physical and economical, for a permanent life companion. Out of his slender wages he is unable to pay for the services of a woman to keep house for him, one who will render his home a little more comfortable, supervise his household expenditure, mend and wash his clothing; nor is he in a position to keep a paid concubine for the satisfaction of his sexual needs. For these latter needs the brothel is open, and the

young workman is not loath to avail himself of its opportunities—though he does so far less readily than the young man of the middle and upper classes, who has less opportunity than the young workman of finding sexual satisfaction among the girls of his own circle of life. Besides, for the workman, purchasable love has this essential disadvantage, that it costs money. Nor is there here any solution for the problems of domestic economy. Thus, by sheer necessity of satisfying these two elementary needs, the young proletarian is forced to take a wife;[1] and he usually does this while in his first youth.[2] This fact explains why it is that in a population in which there is no great numerical discrepancy between men and women from eighteen to thirty years of age, unmarried proletarian women over thirty are altogether rare. This depends on the fact that bachelor workmen are few and far between.

Yet although actually working among the proletariat there exist—leaving domestic servants out of consideration—hardly any old maids, none the less there is a vast number of unmarried adult women

[1] The same considerations explain why the proletarian widower so much more rarely than the bourgeois in similar case remains faithful to the memory of his lost wife. One well acquainted with Italian rural proletarians writes, "The peasants find it impossible to enjoy the luxury of fidelity to the memory of a lost wife if the latter has left children. Widowerhood is costly. The motherless children need many things which a man cannot afford to obtain for them." Marchesa Colombi, *In risaia* ("In the Rice Fields"), p. 116. Milan, 1889.

[2] Statistical proofs of the international diffusion of this phenomenon—the much earlier average age at marriage of proletarian men, when compared with other classes—are given exhaustively by Alfredo Niceforo in his *Anthropologie der Nichtbesitzenden Klassen* (Anthropology of the Non-possessing Classes), p. 233 *et seq.* Maas and van Suchtelen, Leipzig-Amsterdam, 1910.

recruited from the proletarian ranks. These are prostitutes.

We have previously explained that the young man of the working classes urgently needs a woman in his home, at once for the supervision of his domestic affairs and as a sexual companion, and it is impossible for him to supply these needs simply by paying for their satisfaction; he must satisfy them, well or ill, by marriage. This need, however, may be said to exist but little for a certain number of highly paid operatives, forming what is sometimes called the aristocracy of labour;[3] it does not exist at all for the young man of the upper middle class. In the case of the latter, the reasons leading him into a loose life before marriage frequently operate further to make him avoid marriage altogether. In the struggle for life, to which he also is exposed, many years must usually pass, be he employee, merchant, or member of one of the liberal professions, before his means suffice for the support of wife and children. When, at length, as middle age approaches, he is well enough off to found a family, he has often become so habituated to extra-conjugal enjoyment, that not even the desire—strong in many men—for a male heir, will drive him to abandon his easy and careless bachelor life to embark on the waters of marriage. He is influenced, moreover, by consideration of certain social inconveniences resulting from marriage. He thinks with alarm of the rapacity of those with marriageable daughters; of

[3] It is an ascertained fact that the better paid workmen marry later than others. *Cf.* Edmund Fischer, "Die Ueberwindung der Prostitution" (The Abolition of Prostitution), No. 3, p. 292. *Sozialistische Monastshefte*, 1906.

the young women whose aim in marriage, is not true comradeship with their husbands, but simply an easy time for themselves; above all, he considers that in the very degree in which a woman gains her freedom by marriage, a man loses his, and this idea in many cases deprives marriage of all its attractions. Whereas before marriage, in accordance with the conventional code of sexual morals, all sexual irregularities are forgiven to a man, so long as certain "elegancies" are observed, and it may even be said that to lead a gallant life gives him a certain position of superiority to friend or foe—once married, he is expected, in outward form at least, to observe certain decencies. But fidelity to his wife will demand serious sacrifices. Anyone well acquainted with the force of habit, as exhibited in history and in individual human lives, cannot fail to know how difficult it is for the man who has had many years of extra-conjugal indulgence to accustom himself to monogamy, more especially when his wife is engaged in child-bearing.

There are additional reasons to determine a great number of men of the possessing classes to remain unmarried, and one of these is of the first importance. Owing to the fierce competition of modern life, men of the middle and upper classes become competent to marry at a much later age than women of the same classes. When such a man, perhaps between thirty and thirty-five years of age, has at length attained a "position in life," he cannot but be aware, if he is a man of understanding, that the best psychological basis of marriage exists when the difference in ages between husband and wife is not excessive. Hence the man who has

attained a ripe age and then wishes to marry will, if he is sensible, avoid contracting marriage with a young girl of sixteen to twenty. On the other hand, the simple solution of the difficulty, that the man of thirty to thirty-five should marry a woman of about the same age, is rendered impossible, owing to the fact that he himself and his relatives are obsessed by the obstinate prejudice against old maids, that is to say, their minds are dominated by the falsely unequal valuation of age in the two sexes. Faced by this dilemma, either to marry a woman of an unsuitable age, or to take one whose value in the matrimonial market is seriously abated, he will decide in many cases not to marry at all.[1]

It thus results from the social conditions of to-day that among the men of the possessing classes a considerable proportion renounce monogamic marriage altogether; others, if they marry, do not live monogamically; and finally, in the best of cases, they do not become monogamists until they have had ten years' or more experience of the extra-conjugal sexual life. It results that there is a large number of men, in the full vigour of sexual maturity, who need, or believe themselves to need, opportunities for extra-conjugal sexual intercourse. Since, in addition, in almost all the countries of Europe, there is an excess, if not in female births, at least in the number of females who survive the first years of childhood; since, even after this, the mortality among women is considerably lower than among men; the outcome is, if we except Southern Italy, Greece, and some of the Balkan States, a large over-production of women. When we take this fact into consideration, in con-

[1] See Part IV., Chapter III.

junction with the other peculiarities of the existing social order, the existence of an extensive category of proletarian women living by the sale of their bodies would seem to arise by a fatal necessity. It is the logical and inevitable outcome of the social order under which we live. But I will explain this in further detail.

Destitution—in the widest possible sense of the word, understood as a deprivation of physical and mental nutriment, of bread and of education, of *civilisation*—is the principal explanation of the fact that men's sexual needs are satisfied by the constitution of a prostitute class of proletarian women. Prostitutes doubtless exist who have adopted their profession simply for the satisfaction of their own unrestrained sexual impulses, but the number of these is minimal,[1] they belong to the domain of pathology. Besides, even in their case, what makes them prostitutes is once more the economic factor. Sexually hyperæsthetic women of the possessing classes become professional fornicatresses; they do not become prostitutes in the technical sense of the word. But the enormous majority of women who become prostitutes do so to escape from the joyless life of the working woman, especially of the home worker; animated by the urgent desire for a civilised life, or for what they regard as such, for theatres and fine clothes, for luxury and pleasure; animated, in a word, by the desire for an existence which appears pleasanter and brighter than any open to the prole-

[1] Lombroso, *La Femme Prostitute*, p. 542, contends, "for prostitutes, sexual frigidity is advantageous, is a Darwinian adaptation, since, for a woman sexually excitable, the prostitute's life would be too exhausting."

tarian woman who lives by labour.[1] The search for something better in life, or perhaps, rather, the stimulating consciousness of an aptitude for life on a higher social plane, has permeated the more intelligent girls of the lower classes, and with the spread of class-consciousness among the proletariat such sentiments will become accentuated.[2] The outward forms of the cultured life exercise *per se* a powerful force of attraction.[3] Those who have made

[1] A French writer, Madeleine Pelletier, goes so far as to say, in view of the fact that the working woman's husband is apt to be a rough customer, that, "the life of a *demi-mondaine* being far preferable to the existence as *souffre-douleur* allotted to the working man's wife, the working-class girl who deliberately adopts the former cannot in any sense be stigmatised as immoral." To say the least of it, this teaching is unwholesome. M. Pelletier, *La femme en lutte pour ses droits* ("Woman Fighting for her Rights"), p. 16. Girard & Brière, Paris, 1909.

[2] The following characteristic passage is extracted from a letter which chance threw into my hands, written by an officer's mistress:—"It is hard to have to leave home quite young in order to earn a living, and it is harder still to feel inspired with the longing for better things, and yet to be without resource in the matter. It goes ill with those whose desires are highly placed; but such persons, when they have not had the advantages of a good education, must do the best they can for themselves with the aid of books, as I have myself always attempted to do. . . . My life has not led me to lose my trust in God, and this is well, even though I make no attempt to attain a lofty moral altitude —for if a girl wishes for some escape from the sordidness of life as a domestic servant or a workgirl, a mere beast of burden, she must be a little 'modern.'"

[3] J. K. Huysmans, in his detailed description of a prostitute's career, gives an account of a young workgirl's choice of her first lover:—"She was followed every evening by a man already elderly, who promised her a glittering future, and a young man who lived in the same house, on the next storey beneath, passed her at times on the staircase and gently asked pardon when his arm brushed against hers. There was little difficulty about her choice. The old man won—comfort and money. Besides, he had a certain air of good breeding, so that his attentions were a delicate flattery . . ." (J. K. Huysmans, *Marthe*,

a special study of the (German) waitresses' question report that one of the strongest lures to the adoption of this livelihood is the prospect of continued professional relationships with gentlemen of distinction.[1] Similar considerations apply to domestic servants, perpetually exposed to all possible dangers and temptations, and who for this reason supply a very high percentage of prostitutes;[2] also to actresses and to sempstresses, often so badly paid, and in whom

Histoire d'une fille, pp. 34-5. Derveaux, Paris, 1880). The suggestive influence of good manners and a good education on the minds of many working-class girls is almost immeasurable. At Munich, a town in which aristocratic prejudices are by no means exceptionally dominant, a simple-minded girl who had become a mother as a sequel of the Carnival 1905-06, was unable, for the needs of an inquiry into paternity, to give any indications as to the personality of her seducer, other than that he was a "real gentleman." In her own words, "I went away with him at dawn, after a masked ball, and we stayed together for a couple of days. I felt certain that my lover was a nobleman. For this reason I did not dare to ask him his name."

[1] Camilla Jellineck, "Kellnerinnenelend" ("The Waitresses' Problem"), *Archiv. für Socialwissenschaft*, vol. xxiv. p. 626.

[2] A statistical study of the derivation of the professional prostitutes of Berlin shows that more than one-half of these—to be precise, 51.3 per cent.—were originally employed as domestic servants (Alfred Blaschko, *Die Prostitution im xix. Jahrhundert*, p. 23. Verlag "Aufklärung," Berlin, 1902). In France, domestic servants, more especially the cooks and chamber-maids of inns and hotels, are sometimes assimilated to prostitutes, as is shown by the administrative order issued by the Mayor of Auxonne subjecting these women to compulsory medical examination (Charles Albert, *L'Amour libre*, p. 131. Stock, Paris, 1899). In Tuscany, if somebody is not to be found, it is usual to ask ironically, "Is he sleeping with the servant?" a mode of speech which does not imply a very respectful view of domestic servants. Regarding the relationships between domestic service and prostitution, see also Octave Mirbeau, *Le Journal d'une femme de chambre*, pp. 348 *et seq.*; Charpentier, Paris, 1900; and Lily Braun, *Die Frauenfrage, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Seite* ("The Woman's Question: its Historical Evolution and Economic Aspect"), pp. 408 *et seq.*; Hirzel, Leipzig, 1901.

the instinct of coquetry, so profoundly rooted in women, is stimulated by the very nature of their occupation;[1] also to married women of a certain stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, who give themselves to clandestine prostitution, not so much in the direct search of pleasure, as in order to obtain money for household expenses and for personal luxuries;[2] also to the large number of young girls who have very little chance of marriage, and who fail to find a well-paid and congenial occupation.[3]

Familiar, indeed, is the power of the theatre to transform within a brief period insignificant work-girls into the outward semblance of princesses, and to bring to the feet of those who would have otherwise passed altogether unnoticed men from the world of elegance.[4] Another group of girls fall victims to prostitution from the lack of a proper home and of the love of father and mother.[5] But the great majority of prostitutes enter their profession as a direct consequence of economic pressure. It is a fact of observation that where women's wages rise, prostitution diminishes to a proportionate degree; and conversely, with a fall in women's wages, not merely does there ensue an increase in the number of prostitutes, but further, as a necessary result of

[1] André Vernières, *Camille Frison, Ouvrière de la Couture*, p. 297. Plon-Nourrit et Cie, Paris, 1908.

[2] Maurice Talmeyr, *La fin d'une societé, les maisons d'illusion*, pp. 89, 91, 205. Paris, 1906.

[3] *Cf.* Robert Hessen, *Die Prostitution in Deutschland*, p. 14. Langen, Munich, 1910.

[4] G. Verga, *Eva*, fourth edition, p. 46. Treves, Milan, 1877.

[5] The psychiatrist Christian Müller found that among the prostitutes of Cologne more than half had a stepfather or a stepmother (*Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* ["Journal for the Campaign against Venereal Diseases"], 1909).

increasing competition, the market price of the prostitute's services falls. Moreover, every one who has studied the problems of material existence is aware that there are entire branches of industrial life in which women's wages are so low as almost necessarily to impose prostitution as a supplementary means of livelihood upon the women thus engaged. Here we touch the extensive stratum of the feminine proletariat to whom the choice is open between hunger and shame.[1] Of course, this is true only in a

[1] Repeatedly and with much emphasis the statement in the text has been denied by Willy Hammer, a German doctor. In an article which appeared in the year 1909 in the *Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten* ("Journal for the Campaign against Venereal Diseases"), Hammer treats the alleged relationship between hunger and prostitution as nothing better than a fable. In controversy with Kromayer, the well-known syphilologist of the University of Halle, Hammer challenges him or any one else to adduce a single authenticated case wherein "a German woman was led by true hunger, not by the desire for cake, by real cold, not by the desire to wear ermine, to become a professional prostitute." This is not the place to undertake a detailed discussion of the problem, and I shall only say that materials in support of my contention, thus impugned by Hammer, are so abundant that the matter is not open to doubt. Consult, on the subject of women's wages during the early days of capitalism: Eugène Buret, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* ("Working class Poverty in England and France"), pp. 547 *et seq.* (Soc. Typ. Belge, Brussels, 1843); Louis Blanc, *Organisation du travail* ("The Organisation of Labour"), fourth edition, p. 41 (Cauville, Paris, 1845); Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet*, Standard Library edition, pp. 68 *et seq.* (London, 1850); August Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* ("Woman and Socialism"), twenty-seventh edition, pp. 177 *et seq.* (Stuttgart, 1896); H. M. Hyndman, *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, pp. 355 *et seq.* (Kegan Paul, London, 1883); Lily Braun, *Die Frauenfrage* ("The Woman's Question"), pp. 227 *et seq.*, 289 *et seq.* But even in quite recent days there has been no radical improvement as regards the extreme poverty of a large section of working women. In Germany itself, where wages are comparatively high, there remains an intimate relationship between hunger, as a sequel of the underpayment of women, and prostitution.

very general way. Havelock Ellis is right in affirming that a *narrowly* economic consideration of prostitution can by no means bring us to the root of the

Numerous statistical proofs of this assertion are to be found in the works of writers representing all varieties of political and religious thought, persons whose credit is beyond suspicion. Consult Lily Braun (Reformist Socialist), *Die Frauenfrage*, pp. 364 *et seq.*: Oda Olberg (Socialist), *Das Elend in der Hausindustrie der Konfektion* ("Poverty among Home Workers in Ready-made Clothing") (Berlin, 1896); Kuno Frankenstein (Liberal), *Die Lage der Arbeiterin in den Deutschen Grossstädten* ("The Working Woman of the Large Towns of Germany") in the *Jahrbücher* (Annual) of Schmoller, vol. xii. p. 571 (1888); Robert Willbrandt (Liberal), *Die Deutsche Frau im Beruf* ("German Women at Work"), pp. 186 *et seq.*, 212 *et seq.*, 256 *et seq.* (Möser, Berlin, 1902); Elisabeth Gnauck-Kühne (Catholic), *Einführung in die Arbeiterinnenfrage* ("Introduction to the Working Women's Problem"), pp. 35 *et seq.* (München-Gladbach, 1905). See, lastly, two official publications: *Ergebnisse der Ermittelungen über die Lohnverhältnisse in der Wäscherfabrikation und in der Konfectionsbranche* ("Results of an Inquiry into the Wages paid to the Makers of Underlinen and Ready-made Clothing"), pp. 706 *et seq.*, published by the Department of the Interior (Berlin, 1887); and a more recent work, Marie Baum (factory inspector), *Drei Klassen von Lohnarbeiterinnen in Industrie und Handel der Stadt Karlsruhe* ("The Classes of Wage-earning Women employed in Manufacture and Commerce in the Town of Carlsruhe"), Report issued by the Grand Ducal Ministry of the Interior (Braun, Carlsruhe, 1906). On page 206 of the work last mentioned, Marie Baum tells us of girls of eighteen and upwards receiving nothing from their families, and entirely dependent on their own exertions, shop-girls whose salary is so low that it cannot possibly suffice for the provision of their most elementary needs. How, then, do they live? See also p. 210. In view of all these facts it is legitimate to assert that prostitutes are mainly recruited from the ranks of the proletariat. All experts are agreed upon this, from the anthropologist, Cesare Lombroso (*La Femme prostituée*, p. 574), to Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, who, in their historical study, *L'Amour au xviii. Siècle* (Paris, 1875), show that all great prostitutes have been derived from the lower classes of the population. The writers of the realist school in France and in Italy, when dealing with the problem of prostitution, have, with a sure understanding and a noteworthy insight, kept clear of the romanticism into which, in this respect, the Germans so readily fall. They have been careful to depict as their central

matter: nevertheless it seems to me that when this author tells us that no practical rise in the wages paid to women engaged in ordinary industrial occupations can possibly make their earnings compete with the sums which fairly attractive women of quite ordinary ability can obtain by prostitution,[1] these words apply only to a small proportion of prostitutes, precisely those who may be called "fairly attractive," whilst the great majority of such women are exposed to a terrible struggle for life.

Thus we see that the proletarian prostitute corresponds to the old maid of the upper classes. But the causes and the effects of the respective phenomena are different. It is, indeed, one of the most cruel ironies of the present social order that, whereas the marriageable girl of the middle classes is frequently constrained to suppress her love sentiments and condemned to suffer from unsatisfied sexual need, conversely, the marriageable girl of the proletariat is constrained, by her continual traffic in erotic pleasure, to an enduring sexual hyperexcitation. Thus the social order of to-day, as far as sexual relationships are concerned, gives rise to two

figures, not would-be princesses, but proletarian or semi-proletarian girls whose environment has brought them into more or less direct relationships with professional unchastity. Edmond de Goncourt's *Fille Elisa* (Paris, 1878) is the runaway daughter of an obscure midwife of doubtful reputation; J. K. Huysmans' *Marthe* (1884) is a singer from a café-chantant of the type known in France as *beuglant*: Luigina, in *I lupanari di Mantova* ("The Brothels of Mantua"), a novel by Paolo Valera and Arnaldo Nobis (1888), is a peasant woman; Marchetta, in *Quelle Signore*, by Umberto Notari (1905), is a poor girl from a country town; Zola's *Nana* is a Parisian workgirl with a morbd family history.

[1] Havelock Ellis, *Sex in Relation to Society*, pp. 263-4. Davis, Philadelphia, 1913.

social phenomena in total conflict with woman's nature, conditions analogous to those of the most depraved epoch of Asiatic antiquity. To the unmarried middle-class girl, love is forbidden, even when she desires it; upon the unmarried proletarian girl, on the other hand, erotic intercourse is imposed, even when she has no desire for it. In other words, the present social order denies to the bourgeois girl the right to sexual love, and simultaneously denies to the proletarian girl the right to renounce sexual love—a proof that the system whose outcome is such a social order is grossly oppressive, not only to both sexes of the proletariat, but also to an extensive proportion of women of the middle classes.

Prostitution as a social institution involves for the woman who is forced into this career a double degradation—as woman and as proletarian. As long as it remains possible to purchase the use of women's bodies by the payment of certain wretched coins of gold, silver, or even copper, our much vaunted civilisation is, in sexual matters, no better than a beautifully painted scene, behind which are concealed foulness and crime. From the ethical point of view, prostitution is equivalent to a slap in the face for the whole world of womanhood. For the male world, on the other hand, in so far as its members avail themselves of the institution, prostitution is not merely physiologically dangerous and morally infective, but in addition utterly repulsive from the æsthetic standpoint.

Nevertheless, the vociferous cry, "Down with Prostitution," raised by so many moralists of the last and of the present generation, is at once stupid and laughable. For all the anger in the world is

merely an idle waste of energy, unless the institution against which that anger is directed has been thoroughly analysed and understood, and until the causes of which that institution is the inevitable outcome have been discovered and uprooted. The most diverse solutions of this problem have been suggested. For many centuries, individual prophylaxis has been attempted, by warnings and precepts, by the formation of purity alliances for young men and similar circles for girls, by religious proselytism and ethical asceticism, on the one hand, and by pious foundations and charity balls, on the other. But sexual hunger, like the hunger for food, has always triumphed over such remedies as deal merely with symptoms, has always resisted quack remedies. In this last category must be included a kind of patriotic prophylaxis which has been attempted in England—an endeavour to expel from the country all foreign prostitution. In London, it is said, that one-third of all the prostitutes are foreigners, chiefly German and French women.[1] This depends mainly upon the fact that in England wages range higher than elsewhere, so that English girls have less occasion to earn their daily bread on the streets than the proletarian women of countries with a lower standard of life. An additional cause, if the views of certain English anthropologists and sociologists are correct, is to be found in an inferior power of resistance on the part of English girls to

[1] In many mediæval cities, the only prostitutes tolerated were strangers or foreigners. This was the case, for example, in Leipzig, as we learn from a tax-register of the year 1481. See an article by Gustav Wustmann, in the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* ("Archives of the History of Civilisation"), vol. v., No. 4.

the hardships of the life of prostitution. Not all Englishmen, be it understood, are moralists and adversaries of prostitution. But a large proportion of the English people is dominated by the jingo sentiment, and for this reason there exists in England a considerable animus against the foreign prostitutes who earn their living in that country. Thus it happens that to the ethical campaign against prostitution is superadded one of a "nationalist" character. Only in this way can be explained the foundation a few years ago in London of a women's organisation known as the Mayfair Union, whose members believed they were going to give the death-blow to prostitution in England by inducing the poor German and French prostitutes to recross the Channel and North Sea.[1] What an extraordinary remedy, in part childishly ingenuous, in part sheerly ridiculous, for a deeply-rooted evil! The ladies of the Mayfair Union close their eyes to the fact that the prostitutes who come to England from the Continent do so in order to fulfil a definite function, to satisfy a need inseparable from the social order which these ladies themselves recognise and endorse. They fail to see that they would merely have performed the labour of Sisyphus if they could succeed in the patriotic attempt to expel from the English love-market all articles "made in France" or "made in Germany."

[1] See the report, previously mentioned, by Miss Hogg to the *Internationale Kongress fur Frauenwerke und Frauenbestrebungen in Berlin*, 1897 ("International Congress for Women's Work and Women's Aims"), p. 369. Here we actually read, "Half the problem of the social evil would be solved if we had, as we ought to have, the power to send back to their own countries the foreign men and the foreign women whose only means of living could be showed to be either 'walking the streets,' or 'vagabondage.'"

The action of these fanatics would not abolish the sexual market itself; all they could possibly succeed in doing would be to secure a monopoly for the national article.[1]

Moreover, this is but one of many manifestations of attempts to deal with the problem of prostitution by methods inspired by jingo or nationalist sentiment. Sometimes the nationalists hold that prostitution must be reserved exclusively for women belonging or thought to belong to inferior races, on the ground that prostitution is an unsuitable occupation for women of the dominant race. This consideration guides the action of the English in India and the Dutch in their East Indian colonies, for there the prostitution of white women is forbidden, so that the field is left open for women of colour. More commonly, however, the nationalist point of view is precisely the opposite, so that a prohibition is established against the immigration of foreign prostitutes (who are regarded as especially perverse) and a monopoly of the right to practise prostitution is secured to the women of the country. At the present day, in several of the Swiss cantons, and in the Hanseatic town of Hamburg, only women with the full rights of citizenship are allowed to become prostitutes. Even in those countries where, in such matters, the fullest liberty prevails, we sometimes find that the police share the views we have been

[1] Another extremely suggestive example of a nationalist campaign against foreign prostitution comes to hand from Bohemia. Here the municipal council of the city of Saaz, temporarily in the hands of a German majority, granted a licence to open a new brothel with the stipulation that none of the women were to be of the Czech nationality! (*Volksstimme* of Frankfort, 1910, No 48, first supplement).

considering. In the course of an inquiry concerning houses of accommodation in Paris, a police official stated that if he could have his own way all the foreign women and a considerable proportion of the foreign men to be found in such places would be deported: "We are," he said, "literally poisoned by foreigners; we do not know where they come from, and we find it extremely difficult to keep them under proper surveillance."[1]

An effective campaign against prostitution must be neither individualist nor nationalist in spirit, it must be directed by the community at large. What we need is the collective prophylaxis of prostitution through an evolution of all our methods of production, and in addition of our ideas of education and of general social hygiene. Unquestionably, sexual passion is ineradicable. Yet it is quite possible that those elements of sexual passion which result in degrading it to prostitution, in debasing it to purchasable love, can be eliminated from the free play of sexual forces. The St. George that will slay the dragon of prostitution, as we know the monster to-day, must be the complete economic and cultural equality of all members of the community, without distinction of sex.

[1] Ta'meyr, *loc. cit.*, p. 231.

PART III.

PRE-CONJUGAL BORDERLAND PROBLEMS.

CHAPTER I.

DUALISM OF WOMAN IN PRIMARY SEXUAL LOVE.

The Shame of the Act of Unclothing—The Duel of the Sexes—The Sadistic Note in the Sport of the Sexes—Woman's Indecision in Face of the Sexual Act—Consent Simulating Reluctance, and Refusal Implying Consent—Dangers of this Phenomenon to the Man and to the Woman—Paradise or the Penitentiary?—Psycho-Physics of the Act of Rape—Ignorance of Girls regarding the Nature and Intensity of the Male Sexual Impulse—Limits of Responsibility in Erotic Relationships—Contributory Culpability of the Violated Woman.

BEFORE the first sexual embrace, woman is, for a number of reasons, at the same time desirous and timid.

1. There is the shame at having to bare portions of her body which she has hitherto been accustomed to conceal most carefully, even from her closest associates, yet portions of the body which are erotically excited or excitable. As is well known, this shame may amount to photophobia, so that the

fault committed by night may appear far less serious than the same fault committed by day.[1] "Soufflez la chandelle, et mon honneur sera sauf" (Blow out the candle and my honour will be safe). Even to many married couples, to extinguish the light seems an essential preliminary to really moral sexual intercourse.

2. There is the indecision dependent upon the conflict between the desire for sexual enjoyment and the dread of its consequences. There is the element of advance and withdrawal, the amorous sportiveness which may be well studied in the love-life of the lower animals,[2] this retarding the final enjoyment, which is thereby rendered sweeter and more profound: in a word, erotic coquetry. As De Musset puts it: "They pretend to withdraw in order to invite pursuit. The doe acts in like manner; it is the natural instinct of the female."[3] Automatic passivity is the greatest enemy of love, and the tomb

[1] With a profound knowledge of the human heart, the author of an old French analysis of marriage writes: "Quar quant on est nu a nu sans y veoir, c'est grand chouse: quar telle faict estrange responce le jour, qui ne le feroit pas nuict en celui cas" (For when one is utterly naked without being seen, it does not matter so much; for day shows forth this strange fact, which night would not do in like case.) *Les quinze joyes de mariage*, p. 86, new edition. Marpon et Flammarion, Paris.

[2] A small Japanese white mouse, which in two months has given birth to twenty-two little ones, resists with ferocity the amorous advances of the male; she squeaks as if possessed, and does not hesitate to use her sharp teeth in her defence. But if the male becomes disheartened, and leaves her alone, she immediately begins to make up to him, and gives him no rest till he is once more inflamed with desire. The game goes on in this way until the act of copulation has been repeated several times.

[3] Alfred de Musset, *La Confession d'un enfant du Siècle*, p. 149. Édition de la rue Varin.

of many marriages, whereas the feminine art which flees to invite pursuit, which refuses and then yields, and which even refuses simply as a method of yielding, provides an increased stimulus to the refined nervous susceptibilities of the male, and consequently renders what we call love more enduring.

To these elements of the love-struggle, which are of very general occurrence, although their relative intensity is variable, must be superadded certain others.

3. There is the false shame of the girl, who believes that she will save appearances by not yielding until after a simulated struggle.

4. There is a physiological factor on the confines of masochism—the delight in being mastered, the increase in a woman's sexual pleasure when she feels herself forcibly overcome and possessed by the man,—the orgasm of weakness. In a moment of confidence, a woman highly educated and irreproachable in conduct once said to me, "There is nothing more beautiful than to be violated by the man whom one loves." At the same time, by the simulation of rape, the man's desire is intensified, and therewith, by further reaction, the erotic ecstasy of the woman. Certain prostitutes, in sexual relations with clients who please them, will sometimes play the part of the violated woman, to the increase alike of their own pleasure and of that of the male.[1] At the basis of all such sensations there often lies,

[1] They will also act the part of a virgin. Jeanne Landre, writing of an experienced and sexually perverse prostitute, says: " . . . she assumed attitudes of alarm, and her customary chatter gave place to the words, the smiles, and the little frightened cries, of the virgin greatly moved but still consenting."—Jeanne Landre, *Echaudée et ses amants*, p. 55. L. Michaud, Paris.

indeed, the sadistic depravity of the confirmed rake. Yet we must not overlook the fact that they also embody a physiological law. The use of physical force to overcome the object of erotic desire, the forcible attainment of sexual possession of the female, is one of the normal biological elements of the erotic function as such, as may be seen daily in animal life.

All these elements and tendencies frequently endow the girl who makes her first intimate acquaintance with the god Cupid with that dual character of one who consents while refusing and refuses while consenting to which poets with profound psychological insight have drawn attention from the earliest times. References to this aspect of the amatory life are especially frequent among the classical authors of Rome. Thus Ovid writes:

> "Vim licet appelles, grata est vis illa puellis
> Quod juvat invitæ sæpe dedisse volunt,"

while Horace tells us:

> " . . . facili sævitia negat
> Quod poscente magis gaudet eripi."

The same idea is depicted, often with the acuteness and precision of an intaglio, in the folk-songs of all the countries of civilised Europe. From these considerations might be drawn the conclusion, certainly in most cases a fallacious one, that feminine resistance to the manifestations of masculine sexual desire is always and solely an empty form; that for this reason men are morally justified in disregarding such resistance; that, indeed, the girl herself desires nothing less than respect for what she pretends to

wish in the preservation of her physical virginity, that in actual fact her most ardent desire is that her prayers should be disregarded, and that she should be forced to the fulfilment of her own secret wish. *Grata vis est puellis.* Girls, it is held, take pleasure in forcing a lover to solicit as a boon and to rob them as of a well-guarded treasure of that which they long to yield. The reluctance and dual-mindedness of the majority of girls in their first experience of the intimacies of love are, as we have seen, the outcome of serious motives, some of which will not easily be eradicated from human nature, while others are altogether ineradicable. These feminine tendencies are explicable in the fullest sense of the term. None the less, they represent one of the most dangerous of all the phenomena of the relations between the sexes. They are dangerous for the woman owing to the fact that men are as a rule firmly convinced that they need merely to pursue their own ends, without consideration and without scruples of conscience, in order to attain, not merely what they themselves desire, the act of possession, but at the same time, despite all appearances to the contrary, to satisfy thereby the concealed but most earnest desire of the woman thus possessed. Men obsessed with this idea constitute those Don Juan types, light living, always jovial and self-satisfied, whom we all know in our experience of daily life. Such men as these, in all good faith, and without ever being disturbed by a moral doubt as to the personal baseness and socially disastrous character of their conduct, pass from conquest to conquest, from seduction to seduction, without shrinking on occasions from the use of brutal violence. They pursue this career in the naive

belief that they are engaged in the diffusion of happiness, or, at any rate, in conferring joy upon the feminine half of the population. Men to whom pleasure is the chief aim in life, priests of Venus, in personality they may be agreeable, estimable, and sympathetic, but they are dangerous beyond measure, owing to the fact that it is, above all, girls who are thoroughly clean-minded and free from self-seeking calculations—for such girls are not extinct—who tend to become their victims.

The dualism of woman in her first experiences of sexual life is no less dangerous to men. For the lover, in individual cases, it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether the girl's resistance to his wishes is simulated or sincere; whether her flight is in truth significant of refusal, or whether it really indicates a delicate form of excitement; whether the use of a certain degree of violence will arouse the most ardent passion of love, or the most furious anger; whether his acts will lead him to the most intense erotic joy, or will result in an accusation of rape; whether he will find himself in paradise or in the penitentiary. This dualism of woman puts man in a dreadful dilemma. By instinct alone, not by logic, nor, as a rule, by legal examination after the event, by the attempted reconstruction of the psychological conditions and the material circumstances of the case, is it possible to define the borderline between the permissible utilisation of a particular situation and a criminal offence. It is impossible to define with absolute precision any legal canons as to the culpability of such offences—that is to say, it is impossible to ascertain the precise degree of criminal responsibility, the precise power of judgment,

possessed by the accused, at the moment when the act of "rape" was committed.

Every lawyer knows with what circumspection must usually be considered all accusations of rape, and what extreme care has to be exercised in such cases if we are to avoid the danger of committing a judicial murder. More than half of all accusations of rape break down on close enquiry, and are dismissed as false. The over-heated imagination during the puberal development in girls, hysteria and a base speculation upon masculine fears of public scandal—to be avoided by the payment of blackmail—lead perverse children and young girls, far more often than the public is generally aware, to accuse men of sexual offences, exhibition, indecent assault, or actual rape. In many cases, when the legal enquiry is held, examination will show, either that the alleged rape cannot possibly have taken place, or else that the girl was a consenting party.[1] In England, when there had been a number of sexual assaults on women in railway trains, and the daily papers had taken the matter up with considerable

[1] The accusation breaks down for the former reason when medical examination shows beyond dispute that the girl who brings the charge of rape is still an intact virgin. This happens more frequently than those imagine who are unacquainted with this department of medical jurisprudence. As an example of the second order of events may be mentioned a case well known in legal circles. In the law court, bringing an accusation of rape, appeared a very tall girl, while the accused was a man of diminutive stature. The girl deposed that the offence had been committed by day, in a stable, and in the standing posture. A glance at the difference between the height of the two sufficed to show that the thing was physically impossible. When the girl's attention was called to this improbability in her story, there slipped out the admission that she had, in fact, stooped down a little.

excitement, demanding the exemplary punishment of the offenders, and the introduction of special measures for the safety of female travellers, an English judge laconically remarked that in his opinion men travelling on the railways were in greater danger from women's attempts at blackmail than were women from men's attempts at rape.[1] On the other hand, lawyers with considerable practical experience in these cases have pointed out that accusations of rape are seldom brought by women except against persons with whom they are intimately acquainted. Even where it has been alleged that the offender was a stranger, it has as a rule been shown in the course of the investigation that he was really a friend, a fiancé, or some such person. In the great majority of cases, before the assault was committed, violator and violated were closely associated. Thus the woman's complaint commonly takes this form, that her acquaintance or intimate, as the case may be, who has hitherto always confined himself to the permissible degrees of social intercourse, has suddenly become an untamed savage, and, throwing off all moral restraints, has forcibly possessed her, or attempted to do so.

With rare exceptions, this is a fancy picture, and the true course of affairs has been altogether different. The friend has never played the part of

[1] Ernest Belfort Bax, "The Monstrous Regiment of Womanhood," *Socialism Old and New*, p. 279. Grant Richards, London, 1906. With this and similar facts Belfort Bax wittily supports his well-known contention that what is needed, especially in England, is the emancipation of men from the feminine yoke. *Cf.* also *John Bull and his Island*, pp. 18 and 117, by Max O'Rell. Leadenhall Press, London.

Joseph, and the relations between the two young people prior to the offence were by no means on a purely platonic plane. From secret loving glances to the assignation and the intimate amorous caress, they have, to their mutual satisfaction, traversed the whole *via voluptatis*. At length they have arrived at its culmination. The man's erotic sensualism has attained its extremest tension, and he has therefore "suddenly" demanded complete possession—in other words he has arrived at the natural conclusion of all that has gone before.[1] But at this point the girl hesitates and is irresolute. Although, like girls in general, she fails to understand the strength and the sudden uprush of sexual need in the male—this misunderstanding, dependent upon physiological differences between the sexes, is one of the chief causes of unhappiness in love alike in marriage and in extra-conjugal relationships—and although, owing to the comparatively undeveloped state of her own sexual sensibilities, she has but a hazy idea of the complex phenomena of the sexual act, none the less in the course of the battle of love she has so far been inflamed that at the bottom of her heart she also yearns for the culmination of voluptuous ecstasy and for complete self-surrender. But adverse considerations pass through her mind with the speed of the lightning flash. The dread of the unknown potentialities of the sexual process itself, fear of her parents, of reproach, of the possible child, of dishonour, the thought that the loss of her virginity will involve the loss of her best chances of success in life—all these things make her tremble. She

[1] Pio Viazzi, *La lotta di sesso* ("The Struggle of the Sexes"), p. 117. Sandron, Palermo, 1900.

becomes irresolute. Despite all this in most cases the long cherished glow bursts forth into flame and the girl is a fully consenting party to what follows. Not infrequently, however, the cold douche of the countervailing arguments puts out the fire, and the girl indignantly refuses a demand which to her, now that her own mind is freed from the fumes of passion, appears, of a sudden, insolent, and even criminal. But this revolt often comes too late. The man is now, in part owing to the woman's own actions, in a state of sexual hyper-excitability, which has entered the sphere of the pathological and deprives him of the power of free rational self-determination. To quote a coarse but expressive Italian proverb, "cazzo duro non ragiona." All the more is this true because the girl during the earlier erotic by-play has lost her moral predominance over her lover, and her sudden return to virtue is therefore regarded by him as merely an incomprehensible mood or as an underhand trick. Thus the amorous sport ends in an act of "rape," for which both parties are equally responsible, in the moral sense, but for which legally the man alone has to pay by the hard and disgraceful penalty of imprisonment.

Not in all cases, of course, has the girl been an active participant. Often enough her share in the matter is merely the before-mentioned ignorance of the sexual nature of the male. The woman plays with the man, coquets and trifles, allures and goads. Matters proceed to their inevitable end. Now the woman is greatly astonished, and is unable to understand either the how or the why of what has happened. She did nothing and desired nothing;

she was merely amusing herself, and is overcome with genuine moral indignation at the outcome.[1] Man, however, if his sexual nerves are stimulated beyond measure, becomes an "animal." This phenomenon belongs to the realm of the psyche under the influence of the powerfully stimulated sexual impulse. For this reason, by the comparative study of the impulsive life in the lower animals, much light would be thrown on the processes that ensue in the mind of man under the influence of a high degree of sexual excitement. In this condition man is inclined to do things which belong to the sphere of the elementary natural forces, and which in our civilisation, aiming as it does at a series of sustained endeavours towards the greatest possible control of our animal natures, are for that very reason regarded as abnormal. Especially during the period of puberty the youth has a strong tendency towards actions which infringe the laws of civil society, and are therefore punishable offences. As the German proverb says, "Jugend kennt keine Tugend."[2] During this period of early manhood the youth commonly stands on the border-

[1] The dangers that result from this widely diffused feminine peculiarity are often clearly recognised in the law-courts, and are admitted in practice as extenuating circumstances. Not long ago, in the latter part of June, 1910, the following news item went the round of the German press. V., an elementary school teacher in Berlin, twenty-three years of age, was condemned to imprisonment for one year on account of repeated infractions of the criminal code, arts. 176, sect. 3, and 174. The accused was proved to have had sexual relationships with a number of his pupils, girls of thirteen and fourteen. The punishment was comparatively light, partly in view of the accused's youth, and partly in view of the fact that girls of this age have often been observed to make provocative advances and to have lost all idea of conducting themselves morally.

[2] "Youth knows nothing of Virtue."

line between responsibility and irresponsibility. All young men from fifteen to twenty years of age exhibit a tendency to cruelty. In their sexual relationships, more especially, when excitement has passed a certain stage, they hardly tolerate the repulsion of their erotic advances without reversion into animality. In the spring of 1909, near Turin, a peasant lad of fourteen murdered his girl-friend. They had kept an assignation in the wood, and had enjoyed all the pleasures consistent with demi-viergeisme, but when the girl refused to permit the last intimacy of the excited youth and ran away, he pursued her and killed her with a stone. "By mistake," as he put it, for all he wanted was to make her stop in order to possess her. The court condemned the offender to ten years' imprisonment, a sentence to which no one is likely to offer any objection. Nevertheless, extenuating circumstances might have been found both in the behaviour of the poor murdered girl and in the age of the murderer.

If we except those cases in which there is absolutely no possibility of offering any resistance—syncope or other profound physical weakness resulting from disease, an armed onslaught, or physical injury—the violated woman is in some way or other an accessory. Most often it is cowardice which paralyses her forces, and thus is responsible for her fate. But cowardice is blameworthy. Our censure may be mitigated, but it cannot be completely removed, by the recognition of the fact that the woman has been educated as a dependent, that there has been artificially induced in her mind an exaggerated idea of the boundless physical superiority of the male, and that she is, like so many other girls, sub-

ject to peculiar suggestibility in relation to every male. The successful consummation of rape implies in the woman a profound lack of resisting power alike physical and moral, a lack of energy and defensive faculty, and goes far to justify the belief that she set no very high price upon what she has lost. We cannot refuse to such women the compassion we owe to all weaklings. But they belong to an obsolescent feminine type, a type that we hope is in the future destined to extinction, the type of those who suffer patiently and allow themselves to be victimised through cowardice, of those who do not dare to shake off a yoke by which they are debased. In married life, such women as these endure all things, insult and injury, a blow or a betrayal, not so much from a state of sentiment which endures all things out of a profound and comprehensive love for a man, but in pallid resignation, and in a fatalistic habit of mind. Such women do no direct evil, since they are incompetent to do anything active, but their very passivity is a potent stimulus to evil of all kinds, and they must therefore be considered as psychological elements hostile to the progress of civilisation. A free woman, the woman whom every modern man worthy of the name must desire as a proud, self-conscious comrade and collaborator, a woman who with clear insight has learned to control herself and to keep others at a distance, one impressive by the firmness of her conduct and inspired by high sentiments of personal honour and self-respect—such a woman as this is practically free from all risks of violation or other sexual aggression. To-day, however, wage-earning girls are far from rare who in a solitary place will yield to the threats of the first

comer, to any man who jumps out of a bush and blocks their path, if he will simply promise to leave intact the purse, or the basket of eggs, or any other object of value they may have with them.[1]

No other department of human life offers the educationist and the social hygienist such extensive and fruitful fields of activity as this department of the sexual life.

[1] Compare the typical story by Guy de Maupassant, "Le Vagabond." (*Le Horla*, pp. 323 *et seq.*, second edition. Paris, 1887). Similar cases frequently arise in practical legal experience.

CHAPTER II.

VALUE AND LIMITS OF CHASTITY.

Ethical Aspects of Extra-Conjugal Sexual Intercourse in Man and in Woman—Duplex Sexual Morality—Monogamy as a Sexual Ideal—Polygamy as the Fountain of Youth—Masculine Intactness and the Interest of the Community at Large—Comparatively trifling Moral Value of the Men who remain Chaste To-day—Problem of the Relationship of Precedent Sexual Experiences to Love—Demand for Virginity in Women—Variations in the Erotic Needs in the Course of Human Life.

THE advocates of the duplex sexual morality for man and for woman sustain their views by reference to an important physiological phenomenon. They explain that in the moral sphere, as in marriage law, it is necessary to treat woman apart, because it is women who bear the coming generation. The girl who has pre-conjugal sexual experience is blameworthy, they contend, because she exposes herself to the danger of pre-conjugal motherhood. Adultery on the part of the wife is morally more reprehensible, and should be exposed to greater legal penalties, than adultery on the part of the husband, because, by the misconduct of the former, children by another procreator are foisted upon the husband. To the male, greater freedom in sexual relationships is permissible, because, though he has an equal share in the first act of generation, he has no share in the later and more important parts of that process.

This chain of reasoning is so far correct, inasmuch

as the physiological consequences of sexual intercourse are fundamentally different in the respective sexes. For the male, physiologically speaking, fatherhood begins and ends with the sexual embrace. For the female, in many instances, this embrace is followed by the prolonged period of gestation, and by the need for the subsequent care of the immature offspring. It is true that this difference can by no means invalidate the equality of the physiological claim which both sexes have to sexual gratification. It must rather be regarded as genuinely unjust that for the same act the female should have to pay so much more heavily than the male. But this injustice is a primary institution of nature, has the inalterable stamp of natural law, nor can the most righteous indignation of fire-breathing feminists conjure this difference out of the world. Thus there is imposed upon women the need for more foresight and greater reserve in the amatory life. Even supposing the urgency of sexual need to be as great in women as it is in men, the physiological peculiarities of the former demand from them greater sobriety in the sexual life.

This demand is valid also in the moral sphere. The responsibility which a woman assumes in undertaking the sexual act, putting aside from consideration questions of social environment, tradition, conventional morality, etc., may not be greater than that assumed by a man. But the woman, in virtue of her physical sexual peculiarities, has to bear, not her own responsibility alone, but also that of the offspring. From this point of view, morally as well as physiologically, there is a difference between the man's share and the woman's in the sexual act, a difference,

therefore, in the canons of our moral estimation of the two parties, and a difference in certain cases in the censure it is necessary to allot. Certainly the recognition of this difference should not lead us, as it leads many to-day, to absolve the man while condemning the woman. In essence, both are, in normal conditions, guilty merely of following their own natural impulses, which are nourished by mutual human sympathy and encouraged by favourable opportunity — opportunity which so readily makes the thief. If, in these conditions, we speak of the woman's responsibility as greater, if we regard the woman as more blameworthy, this is only in view of the dominant masculine egoism. For, from a juster outlook, when a young man and a young woman engage in the sexual act, the former's responsibility is really the greater. The girl is responsible only for herself and for the possible child; the man is, in addition, responsible for the girl, who in the world's eyes is being dishonoured, and who is being exposed to the danger of motherhood.

In the case of married persons who have intercourse with some other than the legitimate partner, the question is simpler. The adulterous wife unquestionably commits a more inconsiderate and more blameworthy act than the adulterous husband, for the former deceives doubly by fathering upon her husband the children of another man.[1] This applies, it need hardly be said, only to the secret

[1] This danger can doubtless be avoided or lessened by the use of preventive measures in sexual intercourse. The secret adulteress, however, usually commits a further grave offence, in that she is as a rule forced to continue cohabitation with her husband as well as with her lover, and thus consciously practises polyandry.

adulteress. In the case of the woman who acts openly, whose husband is fully aware what she is doing, the moral laws with which she is concerned are those that apply to every other free woman responsible for her own conduct.

The moral ideal of man's sexual life must be strict monogamy. This term is used, not only in the sense of faithfulness during marriage, but to imply, in addition, pre-conjugal chastity. The ideal type of man must be one able to say to his wife on her death-bed, "You were the first and have been the only woman I ever possessed." These were the words of my paternal grandfather, a man belonging to one of the leading burgher families of Cologne, who had been himself a man of first consequence in the city; by no means, as might be thought, a milk-sop or a hypocrite, but a genial and pleasure-loving man, one who had known life and understood it, doubtless exposed to temptations of all kinds, but who had none the less remained continent during youth and afterwards faithful to his wife. He was, it may be added, a rigid Catholic. This case is quoted to show that chastity is possible even in face of abundant temptation.

It is certainly doubtful if such is indeed the masculine ideal. That is to say, in view of its practical difficulties, in view of the subtle and continuous seductions to which men are to-day exposed, and in view of all the traditions favouring polygamy, it is doubtful if this ideal corresponds to the inherent tendencies and feelings of the average man. For the male, there is an æsthetic and I might almost say a scientific stimulus in the possibility of learning, by his own personal experience, the intimacies and

refinements of the sexual life in relationship with more than one woman. An additional motive has to be considered, and this is the eloquent support given to polygamy by many poets. The wise and the unwise join with one voice to affirm that the most beautiful part of love is the prelude, and that the prelude comes to an end with the possession of the object of desire—usually with the very first act of possession. The romance of love takes flight as soon as the preamble comes to an end. Compare the poorest unmarried lovers or newly-married pair, as you pass them in the street or see them on a bench in a public park, with a married couple in the second year of married life. In the former we see, as a rule, a sublime sense of expectation, a sweet concentration of all the thoughts and all the forces of life in one intense flame of love; we see eternal spring; to their eyes the heavens seem opened, and their hearts are filled with bliss; they are capable, in case of need, of heroic self-sacrifice; thoughts of suicide or double suicide arise at the slightest provocation; there is a state of continuous excitement, the promise of lasting joy, which secrecy and the extra-legality of the relationship serve only to increase. In the others we see a dull, weary satiety, distraction, purely mechanical love-habituation; we see resignation, evoked by troubles of every kind; self-love; flaccidity, or tense over-fatigue; not the exultation of the soldier starting for the war, but the hardly repressed misery of the wounded on the battlefield. Consider even the same couple as betrothed or as lovers, and subsequently as a married pair. The contrast will be no less striking, with no more than infinitesimal shades of difference.

This result by no means arises, as professional critics of the institution of marriage contend with their customary exaggeration, simply because marriage is so ill-adapted to its purpose, or because the institution is essentially corrupt. Free love itself, or, as it is sometimes called in Germany, a "wild marriage," once the couple have become habituated to one another, differs from ordinary marriage only in the lack of the legal sanction. The effect we have described is psycho-physiological in character. Stable and secure sexual possession has thousand-fold advantages. Into the monotony of conjugal life it introduces spiritual and psychical influences which are lacking in the first phase of love, and it develops those moral elements which in that phase exist only in the germ. But the erotic and poetically creative element becomes flat and stale; the young love-frenzy of the amorous Anacreon gives place to what the wife in Sardou's "Divorçons" terms the *ron-ron monotone du pot-au-feu conjugal.* Marriage may bring a fine and tranquil felicity, it may be the source of economic well-being, and the basis of a fruitful co-operation between husband and wife, ideal in scope and moral in means; but it is the tomb of lyric love, and, unless there occur the intervention of a heterogeneous element in the form of a third personality, it is the tomb also of epic and dramatic elements. He therefore who craves for a life full of poetry should renounce marriage, for there he will never find the goal of his desires. If, on the other hand, he devotes himself with all his soul and with all his strength to a perennial succession of thoroughly lived love-experiences, he may succeed in transforming his life into an apparently unending poem. He will see

everything in a rose-coloured light; his head will always touch the skies; celestial music will continually assail his ears; always in love, he will lead a life socially idle and useless, but individually ecstatic. To make this a success he must have an infallible instinct for the detection of the first indications that a relationship is tending to establish itself on a permanent footing; he must know how to break off at the right moment, before the beginning of the transition from poetry to prose. In addition, in nine cases out of ten, he will need to have a calculating spirit, and to make use of those Don Juan tricks which are appropriate only to the common woman-hunter and professional impregnator. Yet it cannot be doubted that there exist men—and women too—capable of flitting from flower to flower, without either injuring the flowers or becoming wearied on the wing; those in whom the perpetual change in love-relationships keeps the erotic sensibilities ever fresh and active; who thus continue to enjoy the pleasures of first love without end and without alloy, preserving intact the delicate primitive sensibilities and all the other concomitant elements by which they are lifted above the sordidness of daily life.

Besides, for both sexes, a change in love-relationships is equivalent to a sprinkling with the waters of health, psychical and physiological. He who will not consent to experience love except in the youthful phase of the passion, long remains young; whereas in marriage, after a very few years, husband and wife of necessity begin to grow old. "Young love" takes to flight, children and troubles accumulate; both parties become ever more strongly aware of the

distance which separates them from the glorious days of early passion, and they become ever more conscious of the inexorable approach of old age. The sportive bachelor, on the other hand, accompanied on his path through life neither by an ageing wife nor by a growing horde of children, one who, like an elderly coquette still desirous to please, devotes himself to the arts of the toilet, so that he may deceive others as well as himself as to his real age—such a one may well succeed in remaining long young both outwardly and inwardly. Woe to him, however, when he falls ill. Since he lacks the affectionate love and care of a faithful wife and devoted children—unless he has sisters or cousins to take their place—age will now advance with rapid strides, and he will be a prey to sadness and tardy penitence.

Should these considerations lead us to the conclusion that the ideal of strict monogamy, postulated a few pages back, is in fact devoid of all relationship to the practical sexual life? To enable us to decide this question we must no longer regard it from an exclusively masculine point of view, but must consider it also as it affects women, and as it affects the community at large.

At the present day, the majority of young girls entering upon marriage regard previous sexual experience on the part of their husbands as a necessity, as a matter beyond discussion, one about which it would be absurd to recriminate, since it belongs to the normal life of every normal young man.[1] They

[1] It is extremely rare in modern belletristic literature, which faithfully reflects the psychology of the cultured classes, to find a young woman who shares the views of Blanche in *Les Corbeaux* of Henry Becque: "I love him! I adore him, if you will! He is gentle, he is tender,—like myself—a child!"—*Œuvres*, vol. ii. p. 123.

are not ignorant of the fact that to the large majority of town-dwelling men the idea of amusement connotes, as Bloch[1] expresses it, "a long series of superficial sensual enjoyments, sought merely as preliminaries to a no less superficial and ignoble sexual pleasure." Many young women, influenced by the suggestions of their male relatives, even regard this phenomenon not merely as necessary, but as desirable; they are filled with a pride, no less ridiculous than unclean, regarding the "donjuanesque" experiences of their future husband; in their position of the woman finally chosen by the conqueror for a legitimate and enduring marriage, they think themselves lucky—being bad psychologists—to have gained the victory over all the other women with whom the man has previously had relations; they ascribe this victory to their own superlative grace, beauty, and amiability.[2]

[1] Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 282. English translation. Rebman, London.

[2] Ernst Gystrow (Doctor Willy Hellpach), the experienced neuropathologist and careful student of sexual problems, goes so far as to believe, obviously confusing a part with the whole, that women in general disdain masculine purity. He writes: "Our profoundest respect is due to the moral force of the man who wishes to remain continent, until he can come intact to the arms of the one woman the world holds for him. Those only with very cool heads will succeed in this endeavour; and it will be well for them to remember that they are struggling for themselves alone. For woman has no taste for male continence, and never will have." Gystrow goes on to advise men to follow women's example here, contending this would be to men's advantage. "If these considerations are sound, a girl's prematrimonial sexual experiences can in no way detract from her value. The initiated woman will often bring sweeter hours of love to her husband than the intact virgin."—Ernst Gystrow, *Liebe und Liebesleben im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* ("Love and the Amatory Life in the Nineteenth Century"), pp. 50, 51. Verlag Aufklärung, Berlin, 1902.

There is a second category of girls who give no thought at all to the sexual past of their future husbands. In some cases this is owing to their natural obtuseness of mind, which forbids any consideration of so difficult and so disturbing a problem; while in other cases it is because their relatives have deliberately kept them in the dark about all matters concerning the sexual life.

There is but a very small minority of girls animated by the earnest desire to find a life-companion whose past sexual conduct shall have been on the same plane as their own. There are two different ways of seeking emancipation from the dubious ethical code of the duplex sexual morality. On the one hand, there may be claimed for women an equality of sexual rights on the basis of the present liberty of the male; in other words, this involves the assertion of woman's right to love, to sexual experience, to man, to the child. On the other hand, the claim to sexual equality may be based on the platform of the pre-conjugal sexual purity of the woman; this involves a propaganda in favour of the like sexual continence of the unmarried male. In either case, the claim is one for equal rights and equal duties, without distinction of sex.

In western and central Europe, and more especially in Germany, France, and England, the most authoritative advocates of feminist views, in so far as they deal with the sexual problem, give their preference to the former solution, being influenced in this direction by theories as to the free development of individuality.

Certain thoughtful French writers, recognising the moral justification of the critical attack on that

duplex moral code in accordance with which, before and often after marriage, to man all is permissible, whilst to woman all is forbidden, have proposed that the equality of the sexes should be sought in a spiritual direction. Our demand, they say, should be not pre-conjugal physical purity on the part of the woman, but the spiritual cleanness of both parties.[1] Sincere and profound love, we are told, should be the first demand, not anatomical intactitude. "J'épouserais plus voloutiers une fille qui aurait été violée qu'une qui aurait résisté à un amant aimé."[2] In Scandinavia, on the other hand, the tendency is rather towards advocacy of the second solution.[3]

In all countries of the world, among the girls who regard the injustice of the practical inequality of man and woman in respect of pre-conjugal sexual experience as something to be abolished by any possible means, the number of those is very small who draw the logical conclusion, an intact husband or no husband at all. Only in Norway has this

[1] This tendency has been voiced especially by Alexandre Dumas, *fils*, and more particularly does it find expression in his drama, *Denise* (Paris, 1885), which is well worth reading and seeing on the stage even to-day. But we find the same idea in many of the plays of Victorien Sardou; *Fernande* (Paris, 1870) is a conspicuous example.

[2] "Far more readily would I marry a girl who had been violated than one who had offered effective resistance to a man she loved."—Th. Gautier, *Les Jeunes-France*, p. 8.

[3] In recent years the same tendency has been manifest in Italy, as is shown by the proceedings of the Congress for the discussion of sexual problems held at Florence in the year 1910, November 17th to 20th. Here several of the speakers centred their views of sexual relationships upon the pivot of responsibility. Man was responsible for his present sexual conduct to the woman he would subsequently marry. To put the matter in more idealistic terms: the sexual powers are a precious inheritance, which must not be recklessly squandered.

claim been vigorously and widely pushed.[1] In most of the countries of Central and Southern Europe—for instance, in France, Italy, Holland, and Germany—such courageous and logical fighters would fail to attain their end, were it simply from the impossibility of finding a husband with the qualities of which they are in search. For, if it is difficult to find a man who has remained physically pure until marriage, it is yet more difficult, perhaps, to find a man free from defects even greater than the lack of purity.[2]

[1] A powerful contributory cause of this movement in Norway was the appearance in the year 1883 of a problem-play by Björnstjerne Björnson, *En Handske* ("A Glove."—German edition, Reclam, Leipzig). See more particularly the scenes on pp. 26 and 58. The same tendency found expression in Germany in Vera's book *Eine für Viele. Aus dem Tagebuch eines Mädchens* (fourteenth edition. Leipzig, 1900). The fundamental note of this book finds expression in the phrase "All these men are no better than prostitutes!" (p. 78).

[2] In the Latin countries there can be no doubt that this would be the case. As regards Holland, we are told by Ferd. Domela Nieuwenhuis in his memoirs (*Van Christen tot Anarchist Gedenkschriften*, pp. 28 *et seq.* Van Holkema, Amsterdam, 1911) that all the lighter-minded students frequented the brothels, and that he himself was regarded by his companions as a person of the most rigid morality, simply because he abstained from visiting these places. In the case of Germany we have the results of an inquiry made by Dr. Alfred Blaschko among the students of Berlin, based upon data obtained from the students' *Krankenkasse* (Medical Benefits Bureau), which numbers from five to seven hundred members. According to this writer, the number of students treated for venereal disease amounts to at least one-half of the total number of those who seek medical advice. Of the students inscribed at the *Kasse*, twenty-five per cent., that is one-fourth of the membership, apply for medical relief. But the author goes on to suggest that the percentage of those who suffer from venereal infection must really be considerably greater, for the students, instead of seeking advice at the *Kasse*, prefer to be treated by the students of medicine, their boon companions. These considerations would lead us to infer that on the average every student suffers from venereal infection at least once during his four years of study. We have to note, too, that these statistics relate only to what happens in term time. (Alfred Blaschko,

In addition, such women would expose themselves, at any rate in strictly religious circles, to the reproach of shamelessness and unwomanliness for daring to discuss openly matters of which, by the canons of conventional morality, they are supposed to be altogether ignorant—or at least to conceal such knowledge as they may possess. In so far, on the other hand, as they endeavour to gain attention for their demands in liberal-thinking and society circles, they expose themselves to ridicule and to accusations of disordered enthusiasm.

The reasons upon which the small minority of irreconcilable women base their demand for masculine purity are of such a nature that men of good will cannot possibly close their ears. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the elementary general basis of the human moral law justifies the ethical demand for equal treatment and equal rights without distinction of sex. In actual fact, the varying canons for the pre-conjugal life of young women and young men have come into existence as the outcome of accessory causes not based upon funda-

Syphilis und Prostitution, pp. 37 *et seq.* Berlin, 1893.) It cannot be denied that such statistics lack precision. Many students, for example, suffer during a single year from two or three attacks of venereal affection, and may have recourse to the *Kasse* as many separate times. The figures are further vitiated by two facts. In the first place, not all the students who lead an immoral life become infected; in the second place, those students who join a university *Krankenkasse* do not usually belong to the families of the well-to-do. Since the percentage of those infected is so large among the minority of students who join the *Kasse*, what, we may ask, will be the incidence of venereal disease among the majority of students who do not join this institution, and who are better endowed with the world's goods? As regards officers of the army, statistics are lacking; but those with even a little practical experience are well aware that among them venereal diseases are even commoner than among students.

mental differences between the two sexes. We have here an example of the influence of certain historical factors not wholly dependent on physiological influences, or upon reasons connected with the economic principle of the division of labour. I allude more particularly to the complete subjection of the woman to the man, in consequence of which the woman was tied to the house, while the man was allowed far greater freedom of movement, and therefore was provided with more opportunities and exposed to more temptations. Hence it has come about that the conduct of the male in matters of love receives more indulgent consideration than that of the female. But such historical factors have no eternal validity.

In our social order, if we except certain circles dominated by religious ideas logically and rigorously practised, the adolescent would regard himself as devoid of masculine self-respect unless, when he came to marry an intact virgin, he had had a long series of sexual experiences with other women. To-day, the impure youth is the necessary counterpart of the pure girl. Savages do not as a rule lay much stress upon masculine virginity, if the expression be allowed; but among certain savage tribes this quality is highly esteemed. Writing of some of the North American Indians, Chateaubriand tells us that the highest praise they can give to a girl is to say, "She is worthy to be a man's first love."[1] Masculine chastity is thus esteemed an adequate recompense for chastity in woman rather than a reward for her beauty.

Apart from purely moral considerations, however, the principal reason for the demand of pre-

[1] Chateaubriand, *Atala*, Italian edition, p. 17. Brigola, Milan.

conjugal chastity in both parties to the marriage, lies in the interest that as many marriages as possible should be healthy and happy. Many women of delicate sensibilities, especially those of a very jealous disposition and those affected with an incurable idealism, become embittered and disgusted with marriage itself when they learn that their husband has had pre-matrimonial love-adventures.[1] For this reason, in intellectual circles, the number of unhappy women is on the increase. Still more important is the fact that from the existence of pre-conjugal polygamous tendencies we are generally justified in concluding that the monogamic union, when ultimately undertaken, will be gravely endangered. It may well be that love, convention, religious and moral ideas, the dread of scandal, and the growth of a new habit, may so far modify polygamous tendencies acquired before marriage as to enable a man to adapt himself to a monogamic life. But in the majority of cases the influences working in this direction will not counteract the effect of bachelor experiences of the ease and pleasure of extra-conjugal indulgence. A man who has lived incontinently before marriage will find it difficult to endure the sexual abstinence imposed upon him as a result of domestic discord (especially when this is chronic, but also when it is acute), and imposed on him also by the illnesses, the pregnancies, or the prolonged absences, of his wife. In such conditions there will inevitably be a tendency to return, if only for a time, to the sexual practices of bachelor days. *Qui a bu, boira.* The world of men must be classified

[1] *Cf.* Amalie Skram, *Verraten*, pp. 15 *et seq.* (Langen, Munich, 1899); also V. Sardou's play, *Fernande.*

as polygamous and monogamous respectively; it is unsound to classify men as good husbands with pre-conjugal experiences and bad husbands with the same. No illness exhibits so strong a tendency to relapse as the youthful illness of sexual incontinence.

Finally, pre-conjugal continence on the part of the male is eminently desirable on grounds alike of individual and racial hygiene. Some contend that for the sake of the young wife, at least during the early days of marriage, it is eminently desirable that the husband should be one who has already acquired confidence and experience in this department of life. In this way, we are told, the young woman's nervous susceptibilities will be spared, and her initiation to sexual enjoyment will be facilitated. Some go so far as to maintain that it is the moral duty of the future husband towards the future wife to seek preliminary initiation with other women—the women of the market-place. In the author's view this can only be regarded as an unworthy subterfuge, as an attempt to find specious moral grounds for profoundly immoral conduct. An objection worthy of more attention is the contention that sexual abstinence in young men entails serious physical dangers.[1] This much debated question belongs in truth to the domain of sexual physiology, and in the

[1] Among the men of science who have recently discussed this question must especially be mentioned the Swedish professor, Dr. Anton Nystroem, who unceasingly contests the demand for sexual abstinence in young men, maintaining even that abstinence is harmful to women. In his last volume (German translation), *Sexualleben und Gesundheit* ("The Sexual Life in Relation to Health"), Oesterheld, Berlin, 1911, he records a large number of cases in which, to patients of both sexes, suffering from functional nervous disorders, he has recommended extra-conjugal sexual relationships (pp. 168 *et seq.*).

present study, which is predominantly psychological and social in character, its full discussion would be out of place. Its settlement must be left to medical men, for it is one which they alone are competent to decide. But without going so far as to join Bürger in his enthusiastic contention that sexual abstinence is the source of all energy and all health,[1] I believe we are justified in concluding, as a result of personal experience and observation, supported by the views of certain specialists in sexual and nervous diseases, that men are able to renounce sexual gratification without serious physiological consequences.[2] But

[1] G. A. Bürger, *Gedichte* (Poems), vol. i. p. 183. Carlsruhe, 1815. The poem to which particular reference is now made is entitled *Männerkeuschheit* ("Chastity in Men").

[2] At the second congress for the discussion of the sexual problem held in Brussels in the year 1902, attended chiefly by medical practitioners, a resolution was adopted to the effect that it was urgently necessary to inculcate upon young men the conviction that sexual continence is not merely not injurious, but is from the medical point of view positively desirable. See also Alfred Hegar, "Die Untauglichkeit zum Geschlechtsverkehr und zur Fortpflanzung" ("Incapacity for Sexual Intercourse and for Reproduction"), in the *Pol. Anthropol. Revue*, vol. i., No. 2, pp. 93 and 97; Pio Foà *L'igiene fisica e morale dei giovani* ("Physical and Moral Hygiene for Young Men"). Florence, 1910. In an article summing up the whole question, von Krafft-Ebing ("Zur Vera-Literatur," Viennese *Zeit*, first year of issue, No. 33, October, 1902), makes the following apt remarks on the matter now under consideration: "To-day the woman-hunter exercises a fetichistic influence even on the minds of women, who tend to regard him as a superman; the man who deceives a girl, seduces her, and then abandons her in her trouble, is not regarded as infamous, but as a fine fellow, and when his victim has become a mother, she is simply referred to her legal claim for a bastardy allowance, while for the rest society will have nothing to do with her; generally speaking, to injure a girl's good name is not considered a baseness, but a piquant affair. In a society as corrupt as this there is no hope of betterment. How, indeed, can we look for improvement when the majority of physicians still regard sexual abstinence as injurious to health, whereas it is probably only in a small

even if it were scientifically proved that sexual abstinence is physiologically harmful, we must never lose sight of the fact that these harmful results in no way outbalance those which are the outcome of pre-conjugal sexual indulgence—as we learn from statistical inquiries into the prevalence of venereal diseases. These maladies are so common and their effects are so disastrous that it would be absurd to assume that the injurious results of abstinence to the individual and collective life, incapable as these are of being measured in precise figures, can possibly have a wide-spread corrupting and physically deleterious influence in any way comparable to the recorded results of extra-conjugal sexual intercourse.

minority of persons suffering from congenital sexual hyperæsthesia that the lack of sexual gratification involves any danger to health. But the young man who hears the counsels of such medical men as the above will not be slow, even before he leaves school, to put their teaching into practice, lest his health should be injuriously affected. Other authorities, such as Freiherr Christian von Ehrenfels ("Sexuales Ober- und Unterbewusstsein" ["The Sexual Supra-consciousness and Sub-consciousness"] *Pol. Anthropol. Revue*, vol. ii., No. 6, p. 465. September, 1903), contend that complete sexual abstinence until the attainment of full sexual maturity, that is to say, on the average, until the twenty-fifth year, is advantageous to the constitution. The reason given is that, perhaps on account of the reabsorption of the seminal fluid, the upbuilding of psychical and physical elasticities is favoured; and it is maintained that in certain persons these benefits from abstinence may be continued even beyond the age just named. Restif de la Bretonne answers the question in the following words (*Monsieur Nicholas*, vol. i., p. 11. Michand, Paris, 1907):—"In the physics of love, when adolescence terminates, do we learn from nature's instruction, or simply because we have seen and heard? For my part, I think nature would be slow to move, and that she would instruct by means of dreams." Even more austere in this respect is the judgment of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. See *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, vol. ii., p. 69 (Œuvres complètes. Lefebvre, Paris, 1829).

In thus insisting on the need for a higher ideal of masculine chastity, it is far from being my intention to pass judgment from a superior moral altitude upon that which elderly men, with a regretful memory of the splendours of their past, affect to speak of as "the sins of youth." Nor is it necessary to condemn the youth whose sexual passion has overwhelmed him amid the storms of the senses, so that he has found it impossible to preserve intact the purity of his childhood.

But I hold that it is a praiseworthy action for a young man to preserve for his wife the first freshness of his sexual emotions; and I feel moved to condemn the stupid dissipation of sexual energies on the part of so many of our young men, influenced as they are by a perverse convention which maintains, with courage worthy of a better cause, that youth must sow its wild oats, and influenced also by the strange medical doctrine that he who fails to satisfy his sexual needs with clockwork regularity is a necessary prey to the most varied disorders of body and of mind.

Let us now briefly sum up what has been said. The right to sexuality is inseparable from physical existence. This right is in itself neither moral nor immoral, being beyond good and evil. On the purely physiological plane, the right to sexuality is unlimited and illimitable. The most we need on this plane is to adopt preventive and curative measures in face of the dangers to health that may arise from an unduly frequent or an imprudent exercise of this right. Judging, therefore, by a purely physiological criterion, we must implicitly recognise the right to sexuality to be unconditional and universal, and in

this view the culmination of human wisdom would be represented by the initiative of the German Naval Minister who, greatly concerned by the spread of venereal diseases among the personnel of the navy, ordered that there should be placed in all the ships automatic machines whereby for a small payment anyone who wished could be supplied with a condom. But from the ethical point of view these considerations do not suffice. Sexual morality needs the bridle of the sentiment of responsibility—alike on the part of each sexual partner towards the other, and on the part of both towards the community and their offspring. In the matter of sex, young men are the custodians of a sacred fire. Their sex will give birth to children; for this reason they must safeguard their vital energies and must not abuse their physical powers. The recognition of the inalienable right to sexuality implies also the recognition of the existence of supreme duties both individual and social.

For these reasons it is my desire and my hope that my daughters will some day marry men who, while altogether free from canting hypocrisy, endowed with free powers of observation and judgment, will yet bring to their wives the same purity and physical virginity which their wives will bring to them. The reservation needs some explanation. In all countries of the world the number of young men who enter upon marriage without having previously had intercourse with other women, is known to be small. But it does not follow from this that all young men are regular clients of *Venus venalis*. There are many other forms of pre-conjugal sexual experience. But most young men before marriage have had other women in their arms, and have thus acquired some

practical experience of the sexual life. The exceptions, those who remain continent, are seldom of the heroic type sometimes figured: we do not see in them the outcome of self-denial and self-conquest in anticipation of the love of the imaginary woman who will some day be their bride; nor do we find among them the logical advocates of the complete equality of the sexes, persons who hold that since the circumstances of our social life to-day do not permit amatory freedom to girls before marriage, men must be no less continent in the matter of the sexual life. Generally speaking, the small minority of young men who remain chaste is made up of quite other elements than these. In the first place, we have those whom Guy de Maupassant describes, "Les incapables qui, tout en ayant l'air comme tout le monde et étant habillés comme les autres, sont incapables à mener jusqu'an bout la conquête d'une femme;"[1] those who are chaste by the pressure of necessity, and in most cases unwillingly; those who suffer atrociously from their enforced chastity; and the impotent. Besides these, there are the young men who have such a morbid desire of gain that the cares of business completely absorb their attention. For sexual experiences they have no time. Such men regard the sexual impulse as merely a disturbing element, apt to interfere with the really important matter of money-getting. Men of this type, who are especially common in the United States of America, are fossilised and dry-as-dust individuals, as little attractive to women as they themselves are

[1] "The incapables, those who look like everyone else, and are dressed just like the others, but are incapable of effecting the conquest of a woman."—Guy de Maupassant, *Le Horla*, p. 277.

attracted by them. There are, further, those who remain sexually abstinent from religious motives, Catholic or Protestant. Among all the men who live chastely, these are most to our taste, for in them the moral laws of Christianity, which they take very seriously indeed, enable them, usually after severe struggles, to get the upper hand of the natural need for sexual gratification—and most of them become sad and sour in the process. Moreover, the number even of these is considerably smaller than pious old women are apt to assume. There are members of students' Christian associations to whom the obligation of chastity is especially sacred, and who are none the less regular clients of the brothel. Yet the greater number of those who before marriage play the part of Joseph belong to none of these three categories; they are not to be found among the dovotees of money-making, nor among the religious fanatics, nor even among the impotent. The abstinents consist mainly of that great army of sexual cripples who are always thinking about their health: in part because they are really ill, or at least sickly; and in part from sheer fear and cowardice in face of the dangers of the extra-conjugal erotic life. They are rabbits, not men; they would like to, but they are afraid. They are pure from impure motives, they are dominated by suggestion, so that behind every petticoat they see syphilis lurking. In part, they are the fruit of what is called sexual "enlightenment," and in part they are the victims of statistics telling of the frequency of the venereal diseases. They are reduced to mortify the flesh by living on vegetables and seltzer water, in order to keep their lusts from overheating. Fanatics of the cold bath

or of mountain-climbing, they pass hours beneath the douche, or devote all their spare time to exhausting exercise, in order to turn their thoughts away from what they dread, and in order by the artificial production of excessive fatigue to render it impossible for the suppressed carnal desires to overcome them unawares. Quite a large percentage, moreover, of all these classes of abstinents are abstinent merely as regards the external world, and find consolation and compensation in the secret pleasures of auto-erotism. Thus the question is forced upon us whether one who practises masturbation can be regarded as living chastely; and we have to ask ourselves, when the interests of a pure young girl have to be considered, whether a man who has had a tender and passionate love-experience is not after all preferable to the habitual masturbator. No doubt there is yet another category of young men who live chastely, those who lack opportunity and experience. Grown-up sons living at home, above all in the ranks of the lower middle class in the smaller towns; young men whose every step is watched and ordered, where the house is regulated in patriarchal fashion, so that the boys have but little opportunity for "escapades." Yet another category of which we hear much talk does not really exist—that of those who are forced to abstain by economic need. To say that prostitution exists only for the rich is absurd and borders on the mendacious. Prostitution exists for all purses, and is supported by clients belonging to every social scale. There is feminine merchandise on offer at so low a price that it is quite impossible to suppose that a young man need abstain from sexual intercourse simply for lack of money.

Summing up all these considerations, it must honestly be recognised that sexually abstinent young men, as they present themselves to-day, cannot offer to girls any guarantee of happy marriage—if we except those few sincere Christians or genuine idealists who have led an austere or intensely intellectual life under the shadow of the paternal roof, and have thus been preserved from all contact with impure and casual loves; and if we except also young men who are too shy and awkward to assume the sexual initiative. Generally speaking, the men who remain chaste are men of little worth. The man who has remained pure simply because he is engrossed in business affairs and devoted to the pursuit of gain, will continue after marriage to prefer money to his wife, and if he succeeds in gaining the wealth he desires, he will leave his wife to that life of idleness which will throw her into the arms of the first alluring woman-hunter that comes along, while he himself is growing prematurely grey in the dull routine of his office.[1] The young man, on the other hand, who is chaste because careful of his health, is likely to be no less eccentric, egoistic, and cowardly as a husband; he will be always thinking about his own pitiful little life, an invalid in mind if not in body.[2]

[1] According to Robert Hessen (*Die Prostitution in Deutschland*, p. 37. Langen, Munich, 1910), the Americans have a saying expressive of the dilemma between wife and business. "If I attend to my business, another man will have my wife; and if I attend to my wife, another man will have my business."

[2] It must be pointed out that in corrupt circles similar motives are assigned for the conduct of those husbands who remain chaste within the limits of married life, of those, that is to say, who do not seek supplementary love-experiences. *Cf.* J. H. Rosny, *L'autre femme*, p. 70, édition de la "Renaissance du Livre." Paris.

The desire that one's daughter may marry a man who, like herself, and on an equal footing, will gain in marriage his first experience of the most sacred mysteries of the sexual life, is one which may lead to profound disillusionments. Even if to-day the demand for chaste young men is extremely restricted, the supply is yet more so, and the article is of such an inferior quality that in actual practice the attempt to satisfy this desire is likely to lead to results which will fail altogether to correspond to the hopes inspired by a contemplation of the abstract idea of purity. The domain of unchastity is far wider than it appears, invading the apparent kingdom of chastity and physical intactitude. Many physically intact individuals of both sexes are far more contaminated than those who have had actual sexual experience. Others, again, superior in the abstract, and from the physically sexual aspect, are ethically inferior to the unchaste, so that the union with these latter would be more likely to prove happy than a union with those who are nominally pure.

Notwithstanding all this, it is impossible to deny that masculine virginity prior to marriage is in itself a good thing. The demand for pre-conjugal chastity in the male from the side of the woman's movement will necessarily exercise but a restricted influence; yet so long as the demand for the absolute purity of woman before marriage is put forward by men, and so long as this demand is enforced under penalties, the corresponding demand on the part of women is morally justified. In practice, however, careful fathers of marriageable daughters, who seek this virginity in their sons-in-law, will, if they find it, seldom find it a guarantee for the

simultaneous possession of solid moral qualities. Where we do find chaste conduct coupled with solidity of character, this association is usually the outcome of the young man's being strongly in love, and of the hope of marriage at no very distant date. It is by no means rare for such a love to furnish immunity against all other feminine temptations. The celebrated Queen of Navarre, Marguerite de Valois, to whom we owe the *Heptameron*—a work on the Index of all pious-minded folk—has expressed this truth clearly and beautifully. "Il me semble, dit Hircan, que ce n'est pas grand' louange à un homme de garder chasteté pour l'amour de sa femme; car il y a tant de raisons, que quasi il est contraint; premièrement, Dieu lui commande, son serment l'y oblige, et puis nature qui est soule n'est point sujette à tentation ou désir, comme la nécessité; mais l'amour libre que l'on porte à sa mie, de laquelle on n'a point de jouissance ni autre contentement que la voir et parler et bien souvent mauvaise response, quand elle est si loyale et ferme que, pour nulle aventure qui puisse advenir, on ne la peut changer, je dis que c'est une chasteté non seulement louable, mais miraculeuse."—"Ce n'est point de miracle, dit Oisille, car où le cœur s'adonne, il n'est rien impossible au corps. Et, si vous y prenez garde, vous trouverez ceux qui out mis leur cœur et affection à chercher la perfection des sciences, non seulement avoir oublié la volupté de la chair, mais les choses les plus nécessaires . . . De là vient que ceux qui aiment femmes belles, honnêtes et vertueuses ont tel contentement à les voir et à les ouïr parler, et ont l'esprit si content que la chair est appaisée de tous ses désirs. Et ceux que ne peuvent expérimenter ce contente-

ment sout les charnels, qui, trop enveloppés de leur graisse, ne connaissent s'ils out âme ou non."[1] The deeper love protects against the shallower.

[1] "It seems to me," said Hircan, "that it is no great merit for a man to preserve his chastity for the love of his wife; for there are so many reasons which constrain him to this course. God commands it; his oath imposes it on him as an obligation; and nature being satisfied, there is no urgent or overwhelming insurgence of desire. But in the case of the free love which a man gives to his mistress, from whom all the satisfaction he gets is to see her and to speak with her at times (and often with a sharp answer), when this love is so loyal and so firm that whatever happens a man keeps faith, to my mind his chastity is not merely praiseworthy, it is miraculous.' 'There is no miracle about the matter,' said Oisille, 'for where the heart is given, nothing is impossible to the body. Indeed, if you look into it, you will find that those even who give their heart and devote their affections to the pursuit of knowledge are led thereby to forget, not merely the desires of the flesh, but even the most necessary things of daily life. . . . Hence it happens that those who love beautiful, honest, and virtuous women are so well contented to see them and to hear them speak . . . that all the desires of the flesh are appeased. Those unable to attain to such contentment are the carnal-minded, men too much engrossed in the things of the flesh to be even aware that they possess a spirit.'" (Marguerite de Valois, *Contes de la Reine de Navarre*, vol. ii. pp. 89-90. Paris, Dentu.) A somewhat similar observation is made by Restif de la Bretonne in his autobiographical romance, *Monsieur Nicolas* (*op. cit.*, vol i. p. 136), when he affirms that "a secret passion offers a better defence for a woman's body than her own virtue." Henry Murger, again, makes the same notion the foundation of one of his most beautiful romances, *Le pays latin* (Calman-Lévy, Paris, 1866). In this book the moral sufferings of the hero arise from the fact that, as a student in Paris, leading too austere a life, and refusing to allow his mind to dwell on the love of an honest woman, he succumbs, in consequence to the wiles of a woman of light life. On the closing pages, Murger writes: "There was one thing which Claude forgot, namely, that the best and most powerful safeguard against passion is passion itself. In his chosen isolation, if he had more frequently allowed the idea of his betrothed to come between him and his studies, instead of thrusting her picture out of his mind, there is no doubt that her love would have been a safe defence against all others" (p. 322). We are told by Gaetano Mosca that among the young men of southern Italy, described by many writers as being addicted to unbridled sensuality, chastity is safeguarded by a

We may here diverge to a brief consideration of a problem closely connected with the question of sexual rights and sexual duties, namely, the question of the celibacy of the priesthood. This is a more complex matter than appears at first sight, and those free-thinkers are altogether wrong who consider that the problem can be solved in simple fashion by calling priests swine and by demanding the unqualified abolition of celibacy as unnatural. Undoubtedly celibacy ought to be deprived of all coercive character. To exact from men the observance of a vow of chastity is to make an excessive claim, especially when this vow is taken at an age at which a man cannot possibly have a clear idea of its significance and scope. We cannot refuse to a man the right to renounce the sexual life. But to use extrinsic means to enforce such renunciation is tantamount to robbery of the human right to sexuality. All things considered, however, the fact remains unquestionable that there is no ethical justification for the condemnation of celibacy *per se*. This view is based on the recognition of the value of chastity throughout the ages for apostles and prophets of every kind. It is a fact susceptible of historical and empirical proof that in many men whose life-work was throughout concentred upon some single and lofty aim, a high level of chastity was attained; or perhaps it is better to say, giving due weight to the actual

long betrothal. He writes: "The long and patient waiting for possession, which Ferrero believes to be peculiar to the German race, is in fact extremely common in Southern Italy, where long engagements are often preceded by years of serenading beneath the window of the beloved, and by stolen interviews." (Gaetano Mosca, "Il fenomeno Ferrero," *Reforma Sociale*, fasc. 12, anno iv., vol. vii. series 2, p. 16 Turin, 1898.

relations of cause and effect, that in such men the intensity of sexual need remained miminal.[1] Such were the lives of men like Jesus, Peter the Hermit, and Mazzini. The pursuit of ideal aims absorbs, in varying measure, according to temperament, a man's energies, and this absorption manifests itself by a corresponding diminution in the intensity of the sexual impulse. Savages, even, are aware of the value of sexual continence, for this, in conjunction with fasting and solitude, enables them to acquire lofty spiritual powers.[2]

Observation of the actual facts of masculine virginity leads us to the consideration of the essential question of the relationship between love and the body. To put the matter in other terms, we have to ask whether physical virginity is an indispensable pre-requisite to a pure love.

As far as woman is concerned, the conventional code of sexual morals answers this question with an unconditional affirmative. The girl who loses her virginity loses her chance of marriage. Virginity is the typical "honour" of the young girl, so that when she loses one she loses the other. She must preserve her virginity to yield it up only in the marriage-bed. If she gives herself to a man before this, she will incur social ostracism, depreciation (in the economic sense as well as in the moral), and civil death. Her error can be repaired in one way only, by marriage with her seducer. Thus alone is her social rehabilitation possible. For this reason, all over the world,

[1] *Cf.* the views of Roberto Assagioli, "Trasformazione e sublimazione delle energie sessuali. *Rivista di Psicologia applicata*, anno vii., No. 3 (1911).

[2] Havelock Ellis, *Sex in Relation to Society*, p. 145. Davis, Philadelphia, 1913.

the relatives of a seduced girl exercise upon the seducer every possible kind of pressure, in order to induce him to restore to the dishonoured woman the honour she has lost, that is to say, to force him to marry her. In those countries and those classes in which duelling is still in force, the recalcitrant seducer may have to face sword or pistol; elsewhere he may be threatened with the terrors of an action-at-law. In southern countries, especially in those in which the family tie is still a close one, and in which the sense of male responsibility for the honour of all the women of the family remains active, the offender runs the risk of losing his life by a more certain and direct means than the duel.

The underlying idea of these conventions is that of rigid monandry. The first physical act of surrender on the girl's part affects her whole future life At the present time the woman who has lost her virginity outside the bonds of legal marriage is regarded *de facto* as, *mutatis mutandis*, the prostitute of the middle ages was considered *de jure*. In the middle ages, the prostitute was under everyone's hand, for the protection of the law extended only to reputable women. The crime of rape upon an unmarried woman was possible only if she was a virgin. In the terms of the *Schwabenspiegel*, the mediæval code of Southern Germany (Swabia), the light woman is non-suited from any action against a man for carnal violence.[1] A man who possessed such a woman by force, in opposition to her express will, and by the armed hand, could not be accused of rape. On this point the laws of modern countries

[1] Hanns Dorn, *Strafrecht und Sittlichkeit* (Criminal Law and Morality), p. 21. Reinhardt, Munich, 1907.

vary in tenour. But the psychology of the male is of such a character that the average man does not merely feel that the prostitute, willing or unwilling, should be at every man's disposal;[1] further than this, he thinks that the girl who has once fallen becomes thereby all men's legitimate prey—that she has in future no moral right to refuse herself to any man who desires her. Thus a single fall leads a woman to be considered a beast of the chase, good for the exercise of the hunting instinct of every man that comes along.[2] Even if she subsequently wishes to live continently, she will for the rest of her life find herself exposed to free-love adventures owing to the first step she has taken in the field of practical sexuality.[3] This idea is frequently carried to its

[1] In a graceful story, Guy de Maupassant describes the wrath of a group of honest citizens, who with their wives had been captured by a German detachment during the Franco-German war, when a prostitute refused to buy the liberty of all the prisoners by the sale of her body to the man in command of the troops. "Since it is this wretched woman's trade to do what she does with any man that comes along, by what right does she refuse to give herself to this man in particular?" said one and all. (*Boule de Suif*, p. 46. Ollendorff, Paris, 1907.) A similar story is to be found in a magnificent Indian legend, retold by Fannie Gröger, *Adhimukti*, pp. 39 *et seq.* Fischer, Berlin, 1895.

[2] In the literature of recent centuries we find numerous stories illustrating this peculiarity in male psychology. See, for instance, Restif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas*, p. 145; Giovanni Verga, *Per le vie*, p. 201 (Treves, Milan, 1883); Carola Prosperi, *La profezia*, p. 67 (Lattes, Turin, 1908).

[3] From the end of the French Revolution until the rise of the realistic school, the European drama had as its continual theme the forcing of legal marriage upon a young gentleman who had seduced a social inferior, some worthy young woman of the *petite bourgeoisie*. In some cases the seduction is supposed to have been effected by misrepresentation or fraud. Typical instances are those of the young man Amédée in the *Gamin de Paris*, by Bayard and E. Vanderburgh, and the attitude of Joseph, Act ii. Scene 6. Not even to-day is there any change in this

most extreme consequences. In the middle ages, and on even into the most recent days, the notion of the loss of honour, and the consequent life-long enshacklement of the woman to the man who has taken it, does not depend upon the supposition that she has been a free agent. According to the logical canons underlying this point of view, even

attitude in a great part of the middle class. Owing to this fact there are often forced into marriage two persons who have been sexually united in a fleeting moment of passion, but who subsequently cannot fail to recognise that their individualities are utterly discordant; thus arise grave evils, and sometimes even crimes. I take the following incident from the Turin *Stampa*, July 13th, 1911:—"A Seduced Girl Shoots her Betrothed. Spezia, midnight.—At 7 o'clock this evening, No. 8 Via Nino Bixio, in the house of Signora Scalini Sofia in Scola, who had had a legal separation from her husband, Cavaliere Eduardo Scola; there lived also her daughter Gemma, sixteen years of age. The girl, having had a quarrel with her betrothed, Armando Bastianelli, a man of business, forty-six years old, fired five shots at him with a revolver, killing him on the spot. The mother, who was at home and talking to a boarder, hearing the shots, ran in a fright to ask her daughter what she had done. The girl, greatly excited, answered: 'Armando has taken my honour, so I have taken his life.' Thereupon she fell into convulsions. A municipal employee who happened to be passing now came in and disarmed Gemma, who was still clenching the smoking pistol. The authorities then appeared, and gave orders for the removal of the corpse. The facts of the case appear to have been as follows:—On the 28th November last, Gemma's mother learned from her daughter that Bastianelli had forcibly seduced her some time before. Signora Scola brought an action against Bastianelli, and the case was to have been heard at the court of Sarzana on June 5th; but in the interest of Bastianelli, who had promised to marry the girl, and by the intermediation of other persons, the mother withdrew the plaint. Gemma, learning this, went herself to the court to insist that the case should be heard. But since the court could not allow this, in view of the action taken by the mother, the girl induced her father to file a new plaint against Bastianelli on the 8th of last month. To-day, when Bastianelli was visiting the house, there broke out the quarrel which had the tragic issue above described."

the violated woman, though she has done nothing dishonourable, has yet lost her honour, and can regain it only by marriage with the man who has deprived her of virginity.[1] If the violator is unwilling or unable to rehabilitate her, the disaster is irremediable.[2] Thus the violated woman's whole future life is made dependent upon a rascal's sense of honour. Such a code of conventional morals as this can be turned to advantage by unscrupulous fortune-hunters, to whom the act of seduction is simply a means to enable them to force upon the girl the marriage that will give them control of her dowry.[3]

Thus the loss of virginity, however it has come about, puts the girl, to whatever class she may belong, in the power of the man to whom she has given her-

[1] One of the classical German poets of the time of Goethe, Heinrich von Kleist, in all seriousness chose this argument as the basis of a novel. The Marchioness of O., a widowed Italian noblewoman, having fainted during a battle which took place near her castle in the Napoleonic wars, was violated by an officer and became a mother. The officer, many years later, visits the castle in a repentant mood, confesses his sin, and is, of course, accepted with joy as the husband of the Marchioness. *Collected Works of Heinrich von Kleist*, vol. ii., pp. 218 *et seq.* Reclam, Leipzig.

[2] In a short story, in his volume *Fallobst* (1st edition, Berlin, 1890), Heinz Tovote describes the ruined life of a girl who has been violated while still a child. A similar argument is discussed by Amalia Rosselli-Pincherle in her drama *l'Anima* (1900). The characters of this play are an artist and a young and cultured man who is in love with her and proposes to marry her. But when the woman tells him that in early youth she had been violated, the young man abandons her to marry a woman in every respect her inferior, but physically intact.

[3] In the Italian novel, *Una donna*, by Sibilla Aleramo (Roux, Rome and Turin, 1907), the heroine, a girl employed at a factory, of which her father is manager, is violated by one of the clerks. The man's motive is to carve out a career for himself by becoming the son-in-law of a person of influence.

self. A woman's first act of sexual love, which may also be the last, decides her whole fate.

There is no power in the world strong enough to break the iron chain whose rings are based upon such a syllogism. The only ways out are dependent upon the dynamic force of life itself, especially upon the untruthfulness and cunning of the girl who in the marriage-bed may succeed in tricking her husband into the belief that she comes to him as a virgin, and upon the difficulty of ascertaining beyond the possibility of doubt the presence or absence of physical virginity. Another way out, naturally, may be found in the calculating spirit of adventurers, whose regard for conventional morals in this respect may be overcome by the urgency of their desire for the money which a compromised girl may possess. In Transylvania, as is well known, the Magyar peasants have no scruples about taking to wife women who have earned their bridal equipment in German or Austrian brothels. Similar cases present themselves sporadically in all countries and in every class of life.

Putting these exceptions on one side, every woman who has had sexual experience before marriage is for ever prejudiced, indifferently whether her action was the outcome of light-mindedness, sudden passion, sincere affection, or any other possible motive. In so far as her conduct has been publicly known, her marriage with the man who has dishonoured her is regarded as more honourable, even though the marriage is unquestionably destined to prove unhappy, than for her to continue to live alone—proudly, and perhaps more happily independent—because she has become convinced of her lover's inferiority.

Only in the most recent years have a few women—in novels, at any rate—deliberately preferred to remain unmarried in preference to being forced into marriage with their deflowerer; or preferred to live alone rather than to enter marriage freely with a lover apparently repentant, but of whose defects of character they have become aware.

The utter falsity of the postulate that a woman's first experience of sexual love should, of necessity, under pain of civil death, be followed by marriage with her seducer, derives from a psychological phenomenon of the first importance. If a girl's virtue is cunningly utilised as the lure to marriage, there is always the risk that beneath the cloak of a demand for the restoration of honour may be concealed a threat of blackmail. On their side, girls in such a position would do well to understand that a marriage effected under threats and pressure of every kind will not bring them much advantage. A man who, after the first proof of love, is unwilling to join his life to the girl who has given herself to him, but has then been forced into marriage, will prove a husband of little worth, with whom the woman will find herself far more unhappy than if she had chosen to remain single. Even from the financial point of view, the woman's prospects will perhaps not be improved by marriage. It often happens that when a girl has been obsessed by the desire "to regularise her position at all hazards" she will find that from a girl kept in funds by her lover she has become a wife forced to maintain her husband out of her own pocket.[1]

Towards pre-conjugal sexual experiences on the

[1] These considerations are put very clearly in an article by Elia Jona: "Paradossi inutili" ("Useless Paradoxes"), *Avanti*, July 30th, 1911.

part of women, the attitude of the law resembles that of public opinion. The legal demand is that before marriage a woman's conduct should be morally irreproachable. In the Supreme Court of the German Empire, it has recently been laid down that a husband has the right to contest the validity of his marriage if he learns that before the marriage was contracted his wife has had sexual relations with another man and has concealed the fact from his knowledge. This decision is in conformity with the general opinion that a man in contracting marriage is decisively influenced by the belief that the woman he marries is a virgin. On the other hand, the same Court rejected the plea of a woman who contested the validity of her marriage on the ground that her husband had concealed the essential fact of having previously had a child by another woman.[1]

As a matter of abstract justice we should give due weight to a natural law in accordance with which it is often difficult to make the first love-relationship a binding alliance throughout life.

All the members of our race, men and women alike, are subject in the course of their development to the most diverse tendencies, and experience the most varying needs. Thus, the adult differs from the adolescent, the old man or woman from the adult. The whole personality changes; modes of thought, temperament, and often occupation. There is no man of note, concerning whose life we possess adequate details, who is found to be "always the same." St. Augustine, Luther, Napoleon, Bismarck, to name no more than a few celebrated figures, changed and re-changed in various essentials. Among

[1] See the report, *Frauenfortschritt*, Berlin, May 12th, 1910.

the matters in which change is most extensive, the sexual life is pre-eminent, and this not merely in persons of note, but in the normal, ordinary, average human being. As the needs vary from epoch to epoch in life, so also varies the complex of demands made by man from woman and by woman from man. There are moments, if not periods in life, in which the sum of the demands made by one sex from the other is reduced to the single great and fundamental demand of sexuality. All that either sex seeks from the other is its own counterpart. *Le sexe cherche le sexe.* For many reasons it is unwise to attempt the solution of the problem by a simplified formula which yields everything to instinct. Our present aim, however, is not to moralise, but to analyse. At such moments or periods of simple but intense cerebral activity, decisions are apt to be taken whose effect may be to impose fetters upon the whole subsequent period of life. Marriage has been termed the libertine's last resort. Where a man can find no quicker, less costly, and more convenient means of attaining sexual possession of the object of his desires, he is forced, if these desires reach a certain intensity, to enter the path of marriage. We must be careful, in this direction, not to generalise too freely; but such cases are common enough. In view of this, we cannot but admit that the alleged sanctity of marriage is somewhat impaired. As regards the frequency of the cases in which the uncontrolled vigour of the impulsive life is the effective determinant to marriage, we have to some extent a measure in the frequency with which those who are overjoyed during their betrothal prove unhappy during married life. To be "in love" affords no kind of guarantee that love will

endure; in many cases it renders it probable that love will perish. The lovers see nothing beyond the moment in which their lives are to be joined. When that moment is passed, the marriage has attained its end. All that remains is a piece of paper—and a gulf often impassable between the sentiments and the intellectual interests of husband and wife.

Before the consummation of marriage, it is quite impossible to foresee what direction will be taken by the inevitable development of the respective sexual partners. Both will certainly continue to develop; the woman as a rule more than the man, for it is as a child, physically and mentally undeveloped, that a woman usually enters marriage.[1] It would certainly be an ingenuous supposition that the commencement of marriage should mark the close of the development of the sexual affective life. To woman, in many cases, not a terminus but a starting-point, to man, it is apt

[1] Many girls enter married life imbued with an idealism so excessive that it cannot fail to have a disastrous effect upon their future life. Donna Paola puts the matter well in one of her novels: "Was not the chain of reasoning as clear as daylight? He loved me, for this reason he married me, for this reason I became his, for this reason all was for the best, for this reason unalterable happiness—on earth first, and afterwards in heaven!" (Donna Paola, *Le confessioni di una figlia del secolo*, p. 64, second edition. Renzo Streglio, Genoa, Turin and Milan, 1906.) Hence in marriage a woman may change much in disposition and deteriorate in character. As Boileau Despreaux finely expresses it:

> "Crois-tu que d'une fille humble, honnête, charmante,
> L'Hymen n'ait jamais fait de femme extravagante?
> Combien n'a-t-on point vu de belles aux doux yeux,
> Avant le marriage, anges si gracieux,
> Tout à coup se changeant en bourgeoises sauvages,
> Vrais démons apporter l'enfer dans leurs ménages?"

(Boileau Despreaux, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 219. François Changuiou, Amsterdam, 1749.)

to be no more than a transient halt. This may be a matter for regret, for the ideal of monogamic marriage is one with which we cannot possibly dispense; but our present aim is rather psychological inquiry than the shedding of sentimental tears upon the depravity of the world. It follows from what has been said that the human ideal of love, even after marriage, may undergo extensive modifications. The girl is subject to the same phenomenon that is frequently seen in youths of like age. The young man who has just attained to puberty has a secret passion for those women, who, if not over-ripe, are at least fully mature, towards *les femmes faites, non pour aimer tendrement, mais pour jouir*, as Restif puts it.[1] This comes about, it may be added, from lack of occupation and from the boredom, so general at this epoch, in which, among so many males of the dominant class, the faculty of erotic conquest is often lacking even to the freshness of youth; an age at which the rouged cheeks of a light woman are more attractive than the healthy tint of modesty.[2] The preference displayed by many young men of good family for ballet dancers, music hall singers, and lights of the lesser stage, derives not only from the desire to boast of their conquests among women generally known and admired, and from the facility with which such conquests are effected, but depends, in addition, upon the greater experience and (to their taste) the higher erotic charm of the women in question.

[1] "Women made, not to love tenderly, but to give pleasure." (Restif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas*, p. 91.)

[2] The stupid pursuit, on the part of many of our young men, of chorus girls and the like is well described by Clarice Tartufari in an article entitled "I giovani che si uccidono" ("Young men who kill themselves"), *Lupa*, No. 34. Anno ii.

Just as young and inexperienced men very readily fall in love with women no longer unsophisticated, so also young women are readily fascinated by elderly libertines. How many able and intelligent girls do we not see throw themselves into the arms of stupid and lecherous coxcombs, giving the go-by to a serious youth in favour of a light-minded and elderly Don Juan, because the hypersensibility by which they are unwittingly affected makes them feel attracted by the one whom they think likely to satisfy their sexual needs more fully, or at least more elaborately. But the same girl, who at eighteen years of age, when dominated by the early intensity of her own passions, will be drawn towards a man of purely sensual type, will, after a few years of marriage, have forged for herself a different ideal of love, at once more serious and more profound, and will desire in a man very different qualities.

Marcel Prévost writes with judgment when he tells us that a young girl's desire to love will often lead her to mistake for love itself the stirring of the senses arising from the awakening of the instincts of womanhood—whereas later, when she is a full-grown woman and better informed, even if she may still deceive herself, she will at least seek to justify her yielding in her own eyes by tender sentiments towards the man to whom she gives herself.[1] Thus we have two periods of life in which widely divergent viewpoints are assumed. In the first a woman cannot always escape marriage, nor in the second will she always succeed in avoiding adultery.

[1] From a study of "Love" in the Review *Les Pages Modernes*, p. 48. Poinsot, 1907.

In men the sexual sentiments are subject to even more extensive oscillations. All that many young men love in their betrothed is the virgin. For them, once defloration has been effected, all the charm of marriage has disappeared. More frequently, however, it is the widening of the chasm between the intellectual and cultural life of husband and wife which undermines the ideal foundation of marriage. Marriage and love are shattered like a fragile glass vessel when the man continues to experience spiritual growth, whilst the woman is confined within four walls, and her interests are limited to the crying of her children, the cares of domestic economy, and the gossip of her neighbours; and no less so when she devotes herself to frivolous amusement, and meets the aspirations and ideals of her husband with indifference or with open contempt.[1] It need hardly be said that in many cases it is owing to subsequent development on the woman's side that the lack of spiritual harmony arises. The husband, for example, may remain immersed in narrow business considerations, while the wife, even if confined to the domestic circle, may awaken to new intellectual interests, only to find that her life-companion is incapable of appreciating her wider outlook.

It follows from what has been said that in one and the same human being we encounter in different vital phases varying spiritual and sexual personalities. It is therefore cruelly unjust to make the later personality responsible for all the errors of the earlier,

[1] "I don't think a woman could be interesting to me except in so far as she was growing. And she must always know that if she stopped growing, she would cease to be interesting." (Upton Sinclair, *Love's Pilgrimage*, p. 63. New York and London.)

and to make the latter carry throughout life the burdens of the former. Precisely because "first love" is so often made up solely of sensuality, it is not yet "love" in the full sense of the term, but a fragment merely, a headless torso. It is not meant to imply that this early sexual love always manifests itself in a form utterly devoid of all higher elements, or that it invariably leads to a sexual union. By no means, either, is it permissible to hold that this earlier love is a necessary transitional stage in every woman's life, through which alone she can attain the true, full, and complex love comprised in equal measure of sensual, intellectual, and moral elements. We must refuse our assent to the idea that a woman's first love represents the strong man of sex, the woman's liberator from the tension of the effervescent blood of youth, whilst the later love alone represents the love of her complete spiritual and physical counterpart.[1] Nevertheless, the demand is altogether moral and reasonable that a woman should not be forced to devote her whole life to the first man she loves if by

[1] The theory to which allusion is made in the text has been advocated with singular ability and force by Grete Meisel-Hess in *Fanny Roth, eine Jungfrauen Geschichte* (Seemann, Berlin). In this work, on pp. 121 *et seq*, we read as follows:—"At length she understood her destiny; at length she recognised that thus only could it have come to pass. She had thrown herself into this man's arms, to him and to no other had she given herself, because he represented the culmination of strength, the acme of masculinity, all that was opposite to herself; because his personality had brought to her everything which at that time she most intensely needed. . . . Then he had been the right complement for her. This man, with his dominant eroticism, was the man to loose for a maiden the bonds of her virginity, to allay for her the pain and fever of her young blood. . . . The scales had now fallen from her eyes. But she felt that as things had been she could have made no other choice, for the girl under the dominion of her untaught passion has no power of free choice. By a rigid and cruel social

her subsequent and higher development she attains a state altogether out of harmony with the latter's personality. As Dumas writes, "La virginité des femmes appartient à leur premier amour, et non à leur premier amant."[1]

This much is certain, that it must be the aim of an enlightened system of sexual education to devote all its powers to effecting in the two sexes an early and parallel development of the internal and external factors of the affective life, of the heart, and of the will, whereby the number of instances may be diminished in which the first love and the first lover are not coincident.

convention it is decreed that the man who first strikes off the fetters of her physical personality is to be for her the one man, the only man, the man to whom she is to belong for the rest of her life. . . . Yet only now was she in a position, with full knowledge of herself, to choose the man who could be the adequate complement of her own personality, so that they could belong to one another, so that they could join in the common work of a new creation which should be something greater than the mere sum of their two individualities. . . ." The elements of this view are not altogether new. We find them as far back as Schleiermacher. This writer, in his *Vertraute Briefe über Friedrich Schlegels Lucinde* (1800), expresses the opinion that the first activities of love take the form of an indefinite yearning, and that it is not until later, when love has been developed and perfected, that it becomes possible for the individual to understand in retrospect what has really happened. It is no less true of love than of all the other intellectual faculties of mankind. "Can we expect that it should be possible for that which is highest in man to pass, at the first attempt, and in a single uninterrupted progress, from its vague beginnings to the stage of completest perfection?" (*Sämtliche Werke*, part iii. vol. i. p. 473.) As to the variability of the idea of love throughout the course of human life, consult also Hedwig Dohm, "Ehemotive und Liebe" ("Marriage Motives and Love"), *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, fascicle 6, p. 360. 1909.

[1] "A woman's virginity belongs, not to her first lover, but to her first love." (Alexandre Dumas fils, *La Dame aux Camélias*, p. 74. Calman Lévy, Paris, 1898.)

CHAPTER III.

BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF BETROTHAL.

Moral and Physical Disadvantages of Abrupt Transitions in the Sexual Life—The Maiden's Anxiety on the Wedding Night—Dangers of Free Love—Marriage as the Ideal.

CURRENT morality demands from betrothed persons the renunciation of their sex, and insists that during the most ardent and ecstatic period of love they shall remain asexual beings. The fundamental principle of the morality of the state of betrothal is the abstention from sexual enjoyment, for sexual relations between the pair are forbidden on any terms. To prevent the infraction of this rule, they are in most countries subjected to an effective system of supervision; whether this is so or not, any transgression on their part involves the severest condemnation. Respectable middle class families feel themselves to be dishonoured, even in cases in which their daughter, having been seduced and impregnated by her betrothed, is married by the latter in time to secure the legitimate birth of the child.

This conception is an immoral one, not merely because it presupposes the institution of the bridal night, of which I shall speak later, but also because the customs associated with the conception demonstrate how profoundly unnatural is the asexuality of

the life of betrothal. The parents of the girl who is about to marry appoint a day upon which the marriage is to be celebrated, after which festival the young couple will be liberated from the restraints of the moral conventions that have regulated their conduct as a betrothed pair. This date is commonly fixed so that the girl will be in a condition to fulfil her sexual duties towards her predestined husband. In plain terms, the day of marriage must not coincide with a menstrual period. To be quite sure of this, the careful mother discusses the matter with her daughter. Thus, while in the case of the betrothed girl so much stress is laid upon chastity, this is really valued so little that she is asked to decide on a day upon which she will be in a condition to lose it. It must be admitted, however, that there is an additional powerful motive for the conventional arrangement in this respect. I refer to the most reasonable desire to save the newly-wedded girl the superadded shame of entering for the first time into intimate relationships with a man when her condition is one she has been taught to regard as unclean and shameful.

When the danger that the young wife might not go to her husband in a condition fit for the sexual embrace has been successfully overcome, there follow the preparations for the "festival of joy," to which, as custom decrees, all and sundry must be invited—relatives, friends, acquaintances, often friends of acquaintances, acquaintances of acquaintances, in short, persons who are utter strangers to the young couple. Meanwhile, the family works with feverish energy at the girl's marriage outfit. If during this period the man visits his future bride, he finds her entrenched by a mountain of white linen, fine laces,

and many-coloured stuffs. He then has displayed before his eyes the whole mysterious apparatus which the wife is shortly to bring with her to the house of her husband, much of which consists of articles the sole purpose of which is to veil feminine nudity in such a manner as to intensify masculine desire.

In Piedmont, until recently, the custom obtained that the betrothed man should present to the girl on the eve of the wedding day a complete nuptial suit, from the white outer garment down to the shift. In Germany it is regarded as a matter of the first importance that the bride should be adequately provided with new clothing for the "solemn" occasion. Her feet must be covered with "wedding shoes," her legs clad in "wedding stockings," that she may show forth, as the phrase goes, the whiteness of the dove. But the principal stress of all is laid, both by mother and daughter, on the "wedding night-gown," which must be made of the very finest linen trimmed with lace, diaphanous, and as costly as possible, in order, as we often hear it said, that she may please her husband. "Do we not find it to be an old and sacred custom for the new-made wife to anoint and deck herself to render her body a sweeter morsel for her husband?" ironically exclaims the gifted writer Helene von Monbart, often stigmatised as immoral, but to whom no one can deny the possession of a keen insight into the moral defects of our social life.[1]

These preparations, in which, as has been said, the underclothing plays the leading part, having been

[1] See her novel, *Nixchen*, p. 90 (Dresden-Leipzig, 1900), published under the pseudonym of Hans von Kalenberg. See also Marcel Prévost, *Lettres de femmes*, p. 45.

finished, the wedding day arrives. On the continent, the civil marriage first takes place; next, attended by a larger concourse, they visit the church; finally there is a long and sumptuous banquet, in which the couple are forced to share, and at which they are publicly exposed to all kinds of unsavoury witticisms. Not until this ordeal is over are they left to their own devices.

Who can fail to see the immorality, not only of such customs as these, but no less the immorality of the conventional "morals" of the state of betrothal? Love—and when I use this word I refer to that complex of mutual intellectual understanding, of comradeship, and of sensual feeling, without which the erotic sentiment is degraded and prostituted—is extraordinarily delicate in texture, and is, at the outset at any rate, readily destroyed by rough handling. For its proper development there are needed numerous and very gradual transitions, and it is altogether unable to bear that coarse and brutal system which decrees, "Yesterday nothing was permissible, but to-day everything is!" Mutual intellectual understanding and sexual desire must proceed hand in hand, from the first thrill of the young bodies to the full desire for mutual possession, which last should come into being only by a gradual process. Sexual desire attains its moral justification—on the purely physical plane its justification is perennial and self-evident—only as the final stage of a long and crescent intimacy, as the highest expression of an intellectual sympathy long pre-existent, and merely requiring the ultimate physical union as its seal and completion. From the moment in which the eyes of the pair first express a hidden sense of

intimacy, there should be a natural progress through the stage in which, with pale faces and trembling voices, the young people exchange the responses of the ingenuous and tender litany of love, through the stage in which the lips meet for the first time in a kiss which both wish to be unending, through that wherein one first caresses the hair of the beloved . . . up to that final stage of complete union of soul and body from which we anticipate a happier and more effective human life for the individual participants, and on behalf of the species the procreation of all that is holiest and best in mankind.

Instead of handing the young woman over to her husband on the bridal night, as one takes a mouse out of a trap to throw it to the cat, the lovers should come together as true friends and leal comrades, who sexually differentiated, only become aware of their sex by gradual stages, and gradually learn to make use of it. In place of a sudden revolution in the sexual life, there should occur a gradual evolution. Herein we have the first essential postulate to any reform in this province.

Such a gradual evolution is the most natural, and at the same time the most moral course for the love of the sexes, for a true morality follows nature always step by step. The attempt to outrage nature is ridiculous, and ultimately results in nature throwing off restraint with savage brutality. Were the morality of the state of betrothal a free one, marriage would far less often be what it is frequently and justly stigmatised as being to-day, a bitter and painful disillusionment after a brief moment of voluptuousness.

The morality of the state of betrothal as it obtains

in our society to-day is characterised by two crimes against nature, morality, and reason. In the first place, it enforces upon the lovers a very dangerous condition of nervous hyperexcitability, inasmuch as it constrains them to sexual abstinence during months or years, in association with continuous nervous over-stimulation. Secondly, it imposes upon the lovers a second dangerous nervous excitation, inasmuch as on the bridal night and during the subsequent weeks it instigates them to a sudden, and therefore in most cases unnatural and excessive, sexual indulgence.

In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, moreover, the lack of a gradual transition to sexual enjoyment is the explanation of the anxiety which the modern girl is apt to feel before the bridal night. It is a remarkable fact how often and how vividly women writers have described the sentiment of alarm, amounting to physical disgust, intermingled with shame and terrible anxiety, experienced by the newly-married girl when she first finds herself alone with her husband.[1] Beside such complaints, usually voiced with heartfelt passion, may be placed the confidences which in moments of intimacy and expansion elderly matrons whisper in the ears of their daughters. There are women to whose memories the experiences

[1] A few examples may be given. The bridal night of Ory, in *Verraten*, by Amalie Skram (pp. 14 *et seq.*); and that of Fanny, in *Fanny Roth*, by Grete Meisel-Hess (p. 56); *cf.* also *Memoiren einer Sozialistin*, p. 13, by Lily Braun (Langen, Münich, 1909). A sketch by Ella Grün, "Ehen werden im Himmel geschlossen," *Zukunft*, No. 10 (anno xix.), concludes with the following words:—"With the phrases of the priest and with the pealing of the organ was sealed this joyful union. My married sister, who had herself had previous experience of the joys of such a union, gave me the following advice as we sat down to the wedding feast: 'Drink so freely that you will no longer know what happens to you.'"

of the bridal night present themselves with all the characteristics of rape.[1]

The young woman's dread of her husband has more causes than one. First of all, we have the crass ignorance in which before marriage many girls of the upper classes are left regarding everything which concerns the sexual life—an ignorance which is responsible for an irresistible feeling of anxiety, and is not inconsistent with a dread expectation of terrible things about to happen. This is all the more comprehensible when we remember that the girl, while deliberately kept in ignorance, has nevertheless been able to glean from conversations, from books, and from overheard jests, a certain number of sexual facts, apt to be offensively conceived, precisely because they are torn from their natural context and are most remote from the normal working of the healthy girl's imagination. There is further to be considered the dread of the physical pain to be experienced from the rupture of the hymen. But the chief source of trouble is that to which I have already referred, the suddenness of the sexual transition. Where the self-surrender is gradual, no anxiety arises. Anxiety and its sister-feeling of shame disappear in the ecstasy of love, take to flight before the awakening of desire.

The brutalities of the nuptial night often prove the

[1] Marcel Prévost stigmatises those women as hysterical who "find the surprise of the alcove brusque and disagreeable, and thereupon utter cries of treason and of rape." (Marcel Prévost, *Les Demi-vierges*, p. 71. Lemaire, Paris, 1894.) But in these words he is rather condemning the tendency of those women who desire to know all things before marriage, which in his view leads to demi-viergeisme, than defending the actual system of sudden transition to the most intimate sexual embrace.

grave of love, for there is much truth in the words of Balzac, "le sort d'un ménage dépend de la première nuit."[1] The sudden intimacy with a man who, materially at any rate and often psychologically as well, has been known only from a distance, strikes terror into many women, so that it is precisely the most chaste and the most delicate-minded who are impelled to an erotic refusal; whilst as a result of this, men who are themselves of delicate fibre, and therefore also impressionable, actually become, in relation to such women, impotent. As Montaigne writes: "Les mariez, le temps estant tout leur, ne doibvent ni presser ny tacter leur entreprinse, s'ils ne sont prestes: et vault mieulx faillir indecemment à estrener la couche nuptiale, pleine d'agitation et de fiebvre, attendant une et une aultre commodité plus privée et moins allarmée que de tumber en une perpetuelle misere, pour s'etre estonné et désersperé du premier refus. Avant la possession prinse, le patient se doibt, à saillies et divers temps, legierement essayer et offrir, sans se picquer et opiniastrer à se convaincre definitivement soy-même."[2] The bridal night and those that immediately follow it not infrequently conceal the germs of death. The marriage bed with its troubles and sufferings is often the starting-point

[1] "Happiness in marriage depends upon the first night." Honoré de Balzac, *Physiologie du mariage*, p. 76.

[2] "The newly married, since they have ample time at their disposal, should not hurry matters if they are not quite ready; it is better to fail . . . and to await a more favourable and less distressing opportunity, than to fall into lasting unhappiness, by reason of astonishment or despair at the first refusal. Before taking possession, the self-contained man should by degrees and tentatively offer himself, without being disturbed in mind by refusals. . . ." (Montaigne, *Essais*, Book 1, p. 33. Libr. de la Bib. Nat., Paris, 1906).

of long illness, leading the man to a premature grave, and the woman to the lunatic asylum.[1]

The current morality of the state of betrothal poisons that state and desecrates the act of sexual union of two loving beings, inasmuch as it permits the maiden's entry into the sexual life only under exposure to the fierce light of public curiosity—not to speak of the wedding journey and other abominations. She enters upon her married life decked out like a peacock, and profoundly wounded in her maiden sense of self-respect, because she knows beforehand the precise place and the precise hour in which, *nolens volens*, she is to lose her virginity.[2] The publicity

[1] Christian von Ehrenfels, "Sexuales Ober- und Unterbewusstsein" ("The Sexual Supra- and Subconsciousness"), *Pol. Anthrop. Revue, loc. cit.*, p. 405.—Ehrenfels, professor of medicine at the University of Prague, gives a minute description of the dangers to woman's health involved in the bridal night. Georg Hirth, writing on similar lines, refers to the perils of sexual excess in the male resulting from the exaggerated ideas girls are apt to have of the masculine sexual powers (Georg Hirth, *Wege zur Liebe* [Ways to Love], p. 571. Munich, 1905). To this must be added, as Havelock Ellis well expresses it, the dangers of a foolish sexual pride in the man, who is ashamed to admit himself to be exhausted by unduly prolonged indulgence in the joys of love (Havelock Ellis, *Sex in Relation to Society*, chap. xi., "The Art of Love"). To symbolise the results of sexual excess in the husband in the nights following marriage, the imagination of the Jews of old created an evil demon, Asmodeus by name, who killed in the nuptial bed the first seven husbands of Sarah. (See the Apochryphal book of Tobit, iii. 8, vi. 69, viii. 2-3).—In the famous "bourgeois epic" of the classic German poet, Pastor Johann Heinrich Voss, at the end of the marriage feast the hope is expressed that Asmodeus may do no harm to the husband (Voss, *Luise*, 2nd edition, p. 322. Nicolovius, Königsberg, 1812).

[2] The immorality of these conventions was pointed out long ago by the wise jurist Montesquieu. His Persian writes from Paris: "Among the nations of Europe, all these difficulties are dealt with at once, in the first quarter of an hour of married life; the last favours are always granted immediately after the nuptial blessing. The women here

thus given to an act, undoubtedly one of the most solemn in life, but which ought also to be one of the most private, proves very clearly that the moral code regulating betrothal and the introduction to marriage is still in an extremely primitive condition, and needs reform from its very foundations.

As things are to-day, indeed, no sociologist could light-heartedly venture to propose the simple abolition of the existing conventions which regulate this period in a woman's life, nor could he dare to advocate that there should be a graduated opening to woman's sexual life whether before or after the establishment of a legal marriage bond. The recommendation of changes in this direction must be amplified and limited in various ways. The two following considerations are of especial importance in this connection.

1. I exclude from consideration seduction, which is a deliberate act of sexual exploitation, and refer only to the possibility of sexual relations between betrothed persons who in good faith intend to marry. The terminus of legal marriage in these cases is a matter to which morality is indifferent, but it is one which greatly concerns the State. Yet on moral

behave very differently from ours in Persia, who contest the territory to be conquered often for months at a time; one can imagine nothing more sudden and complete. If they lose nothing, it is because they have nothing to lose. It is shameful to think that everyone knows the precise moment of their surrender, and that it is possible, without consulting the stars, to predict the precise hour at which the first child will be born." *Lettres persanes*, p. 325. More recently, other writers, and especially the socialists, have criticised our marriage customs in similar terms. Consult, for example, Benoît Malon, *Le socialisme intégral*, p. 141, Paris, 1893; Jacques Mesnil, *Le mariage libre*, Bibl. des Temps nouveaux, Brussels, 1900; Marcel Prévost, *Lettres de femmes*, p. 54.

grounds we must exclude pre-conjugal sexual relationships in the case of all those young persons to whom a defective social order renders it impossible to provide adequately for the child that may be the outcome of their union—all those, in a word, who have no prospect within a reasonable time of providing, on however modest a scale, for the expenses of a joint household. The number of those to whom, for this reason, pre-conjugal sexual experience must be forbidden, would doubtless be greatly lessened by an abatement and simplification of the various demands made by the two parties to the common sexual life—for instance, by the woman's ceasing to expect, as the German phrase has it "in ein gemachtes Bett kommen."[1]

2. In many strata of the population, pre-conjugal sexual experience on the part of betrothed persons already exists *de facto* without any widespread injury to general morality.[2] But it has to be remembered that in other circles than these, and especially among the cultured and possessing classes, this practice on the large scale would be likely to result in many girls being duped and abandoned—at any rate so long as the culture of such girls is made up of the present mixture of sentimental idealism and flabby real-

[1] "To enter a well-feathered nest."

[2] A statistical study made by a German doctor showed that of 10,414 births of first children registered in Dresden in a single year, 4,048, that is to say 39 per cent., occurred during the first seven months of married life, and most of them during the first five months. In certain country districts of Germany the percentage of such births is as high as ninety. (Max Marcuse, *Uneheliche Mütter* ["Unmarried Mothers"], p. 34. Seeman, Berlin, 1906.) These facts show how numerous are the persons who enter upon sexual relations before contracting a legal marriage.

ism. Hence a transformation of the existing unwholesome morality of the state of betrothal cannot be effected without serious consequences, until, as a preliminary, economics and law have attained a higher development, and therewith our morality has been lifted to a loftier plane.

The average man of to-day still completely lacks such an education in sexual ethics as would render him capable of truly appreciating all the consequences of his own actions. The girl he loves is to him the object of a strong sexual desire; to possess her is his first and last aim, for which he will make any sacrifices; to this aim, if it cannot otherwise be achieved, he will sacrifice even his bachelor freedom. In an earlier chapter it was shown that in many cases marriage is regarded as the only means of attaining sexual possession of a desired but virtuous girl. This fact is often admitted by men about to marry, in private conversations with their most intimate friends. It is especially in cases in which the woman who is desired is not the man's equal in birth that her fixed refusal of an illicit relationship is the man's determining motive to marriage.[1] Pretty and clever shop-girls, clerks, artistes, etc., can count almost with certainty upon the prospect of marriage with a man of superior class, in some cases even a man of title, if they can only keep up a coquettish resistance to all attempts at seduction—for the lover, to gain his end, is then forced to offer marriage.[2] Such a

[1] Compare the theme of Richardson's celebrated romance, *Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded.*

[2] Among other examples of this in modern literature, reference may be made to "Die Probiermamselle," by Alfred Deutsch-German, in this writer's *Wiener Mädel*, p. 29; Seeman, Berlin.

resistance, it need hardly be said, comes more easily to women of a cold and calculating temperament than to those who are warm-hearted and sincere. For this reason, among the girls whose lives expose them more than most to this sort of temptation, it is by no means always the inferior types that "fall"; nor are those always the best girls who—as the ignorant public is apt to phrase it—"after resisting all temptations most wonderfully for years," at length find their way, as a reward for their praiseworthy conduct, into the heaven of marriage.

The goal of masculine sexual desire is the bed; for this very reason, in most cases, the moment of first possession is also the climax of love. There is a profound significance in the proverb which tells us that the unhappiest love of all is love which ends in marriage. The descent from the climax of the nuptial night is often alarmingly rapid, amounting in many instances to a precipitous fall. The intensity of love in the male may be measured with more certainty after than before possession. In this sense Rousseau exclaims, "Femmes trop faciles, voulez-vous savoir si vous êtes aimées? Examinez votre amant sortant de vos bras."[1] Many men lose all interest in a woman directly they have possessed her, no less so if that possession has only been attained by means

[1] "Light-loving women, do you wish to know whether you yourselves are loved? Study your lover as he leaves your arms." (*La Nouvelle Héloïse, lib. cit.*, vol. i., p. 219, note.) Rousseau continues, "Oh, love! for my part, if I regret the age when I could enjoy thee, it is not for the hour of enjoyment itself, but for the hour that followed." See also the wise remarks of Guy de Maupassant upon "the two species of lovers," in his novel, *Notre Cœur*, p. 159; Ollendorf, Paris, 1890. See also Alfred de Musset, *La coupe et les lèvres*, p. 33; edit. de la Bibl. Nationale, Paris, 1908.

of marriage. There are others, and morally these stand at a yet lower level, who, when a girl, inspired perhaps by profound affection, has yielded to their entreaties, then immediately regard her as a fallen woman, and despise her accordingly. To men of this stamp, a change in the accepted morals of the state of betrothal in the sense indicated above would be an open invitation to unbridled and unscrupulous libertinism. The net result would be an increase in the number of girls seduced and abandoned, and an increase in the number of illegitimate births.

As things are to-day, the suggestions for sexual reform made in this chapter are applicable only to a small and select minority of human beings, moral supermen, in whom the possession of the beloved woman before marriage does not lead them to lose sight of marriage itself as the ultimate end—those in whom the gradual growth of sexual community during the period of courtship, refining and developing their sense of responsibility, becomes a true source of moral improvement. As an end in itself, free love is an exploded theory. The socialists, who at one time were singing pæans in favour of free love, have long since been silent on this subject; those among them that had entered free unions will now for the most part be found safely married to their old loves, or to other women. For the community at large, free love is to-day a peril which may readily degenerate into general corruption; for the right-minded individual it is a kind of sentimental essay, which with the birth of the first child, will give place to the legalised union of marriage.[1] On the other

[1] In Italy, the impassioned theoretical advocate of free love, the Socialist Deputy, Guido Podrecca, in a number of articles published in

hand, the old institution of marriage is bleeding from a thousand wounds as a result of the attacks of clear-sighted and inexorable critics.[1] Inasmuch as legal marriage is based upon the fundamental principle of conjugal rights, or, to put the matter plainly, upon sexual coercion, it is not possible to avoid the danger that marriage may become an institution for the legalisation and official authorisation of rape—the only safeguard against this being that the individual's tact and good sense, and his

Avanti in the year 1907, ably demonstrates that in the actual practice of to-day free love would be equivalent simply to the further sexual exploitation of woman by man, and that in existing conditions it is therefore undesirable. A German theoretical advocate of free love, Grete Meisel-Hess, aptly points out that in the free union of to-day the woman is delivered into the man's hands, and that in such a union "in external relationships she is a thousandfold more endangered, in internal relationships a thousandfold more dependent, even than in marriage." (See *Die Sexuelle Krise*, p. 116. Diederichs, Jena, 1909.) In the actual life of to-day, free love, even in the form of a union honestly intended by both parties to be permanent (a woman does not unite herself to a man in order to remain completely free and independent of him, but in order to assume the intrinsic obligations of matrimonial and monogamic love), can only lead to the most terrible tragedies. This was shown with fine acumen by the English writer, Grant Allen, theoretically an advocate of free love aiming at a permanent monogamic union, in his novel, *The Woman Who Did* (John Lane, London and Boston, 1896).

[1] A few bibliographical references may be given. Among the ablest modern critics of marriage, who are also advocates of free love established on a high plane, may be mentioned: Jacques Mesnil, *Le mariage libre*, *lib. cit.*; Ludwig Gumplòwicz, *Ehe und freie Liebe* ("Marriage and Free Love"), Berlin, 1900, edition of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*: Mathieu Schwann, *Liebe*, Diederichs, Leipzig, 1901; August Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* ("Woman and Socialism"), Dietz, Stuttgart, 35th edition (written from the Marxist standpoint); Charles Albert, *L'amour libre*, *lib. cit.* (written from the Anarchist point of view, but the author's outlook does not in fact differ greatly from that of Bebel).

recognition of the limitations of man's ethical right to sensuality, should restrain him from the exercise of his full legal powers. This notwithstanding, marriage is the best form of sexual life in common, and married couples constitute the indispensable cellular basis of the tissue of all civilised society. Hence marriage may be reformed, but cannot be abolished.[1] A change in the existing morality of the state of betrothal is reasonable only when those who make the change aim, not at the abolition of

[1] Among the French socialists, the syndicalist philosopher, Edouard Berth, has energetically opposed any propaganda tending to hasten the process of dissolution of marriage. He contends that the institution of marriage is the source of all moral good. His watchword is the restoration of the family endangered by the existing social order. Consult his essay, "Le Centenaire de Proudhon," *Le mouvement socialiste*, Anno xi., No. 206, 1909; and "Marchands intellectuels et politiciens" in the same review, Anno, xi., No. 196, p. 207; also his volume entitled, *Dialogues Socialistes*, pp. 274 *et seq.* Jacques, Paris, 1901.—It is also worthy of note that the sexual question is treated by Georges Sorel in an extremely austere spirit. Sorel maintains that there is a natural law, to which he gives the name of the psycho-erotic law, in accordance with which, in order to estimate man's moral nature, we have to study his behaviour in sexual relationships; and he declares himself in harmony with Proudhon as regards the formula that the world will become better in direct proportion as it becomes more chaste. (Agostino Lanzillo, *Giorgio Sorel*, Rome, 1910, Libr. Ed. Rom., p. 89.) Sorel is also of opinion that the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the great social struggle will largely depend upon the superiority of the workers over the bourgeoisie in the purity of their sexual relationships (Sorel, in the *Voce*, iii., 9, Feb. 10th, 1910). In Germany, also, a prominent member of the socialist party, Edmund Fischer, has concerned himself with the defence of chastity and marriage. He recommends the workers to keep chaste before marriage, and to marry early. He advocates this in the interest of the organisation of labour, since, he asserts, it is the bachelor elements of the proletariat that are least to be depended upon by the labour organisations. (Edmund Fischer, "Die Ueberwindung der Prostitution" ["The Abolition of Prostitution"], *Sozial. Monatshefte*, x. xi.), fasc. 3, p. 242, 1906.)

marriage, but at finding the most reasonable and most moral means for strengthening their mutual sense of responsibility and for the resanation of marriage. Without such reservations, a new morality of betrothal would merely involve the reintroduction of the ancient and socially disastrous immorality of so-called "free-love" on the basis of premeditated seduction or of purchase and sale.

PART IV.

BORDERLAND PROBLEMS OF THE CONJUGAL SEXUAL LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

OUTWARD MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SUBJECTION OF WOMAN IN MARRIAGE.

Awakening of the Consciousness of the Rights of Woman—Analysis of a German Betrothal Card—Feudal and Masculine Supremacy—Woman's honorific Titles before and after marriage—Woman's Change of Name on marriage—The Mother and the Transmission of her Name to the offspring.

EVERYONE who reads a daily newspaper, and thereby deludes himself with the idea that he is deeply concerned about the internal politics of his country, speaks often of "the social problem of the time," although in most cases he can hardly be said to have the least idea of the true significance of this term. Some even of those who use the expression in a definite sense, boldly deny that this problem has any real existence. Others, again, not indeed appertaining to the truly cultured and scientific world, but members of what are called the upper classes, assert that the solution of this problem, whose existence they admit, is simplified by considering it as nothing more than a "stomach problem."

Those who deny the justification for speaking of a social problem at all, either simply ignore everything that can touch mind or heart; or, worse still, they are among those who deliberately refuse to think about the matter, for fear of disturbing their digestion by too arduous discussion; or, finally, they may be among those who imagine that if we ignore a problem it will cease to press for a solution. To anyone who is truly concerned about the advance of human intelligence, it cannot but be a matter of grave regret that so large a proportion of the cultured classes regard the most important questions of the day as matters with which they have absolutely no concern. Such persons are affected with precisely the same child-like and childish egotism and with the same incapacity for putting themselves in another's place as were exhibited by the legendary princess who, when told that the poor people of the city were clamouring at the gates of her father's palace, on account of hunger because they had no bread, cried out in astonishment, "But if they have no bread, why don't they eat cake?"

Those who exhibit a general contempt for "the social problem," and who think that they can make that problem appear trifling and even ridiculous by calling it a "stomach problem," completely overlook—in their own personal and anti-historical materialism—the determining causes of the general phenomena of contemporary social life. For, beside the material aspect of the social problem, doubtless dependent thereon, but of no less manifest importance in and by itself, there is the moral and cultural aspect of the problem.

A social problem arises when in any state, any

nation, any class, the legitimate demands for the satisfaction of certain needs, bodily or mental, material or ideal, attain an intensity disproportionate to the existing supply of means for the satisfaction of those needs—provided, of course, that these means of satisfaction really exist at the time in question within the hands of a particular state, a particular nation, a particular class. The contrast between desire and realisation gives rise to uneasiness, to a social fermentation; and since those who are discontented naturally compare their condition with that of their more favoured neighbours, they readily become inspired with a sentiment of personal hostility towards these latter; unless the more intelligent among those in the less favourable position unceasingly point out that what is essential is not personal hostility, but a change in the conditions which give rise to the disparity from which they suffer.

This consciousness of social, national, and economic injustice, though not peculiar to modern times, has only recently made its appearance upon so vast a scale. There is therefore a historical justification for the view that class antagonisms, race antagonisms, and sex antagonisms have become and are continually becoming more acute. The slaves of the classical world, the serfs of the middle ages, were separated from the dominant classes by an impassable gulf; the same is true to-day of the pariah of Hindustan and of the fellah of Egypt. In the cases just mentioned, as a rule, there was and is no possibility for an individual belonging to the lower caste to find his way into the higher. Marriage between members of different castes was and is impossible. No less sharp was in former times the distinction between the two sexes as

regards their respective matrimonial and legal rights and positions. The wife of antiquity, still more the wife of the middle ages and of those modern countries wherein mediæval conditions still persist, had and has the position merely of a chattel. The contrasts between high and low, rich and poor, man and woman, were, and among the peoples of arrested development still are, much more accentuated than those that obtain to-day among the civilised nations of Europe. Yet a "social problem" worthy of the name could not be said to exist in classical or mediæval Europe, nor does it exist to-day in India, Egypt, or China.

The following is the solution of the problem just stated: The oppressed classes, races, or sex, as the case may be, were aware in earlier times also of the contrast between their condition and that of the dominant classes, races, or sex, but they regarded this contrast as something natural and inevitable—it was "God's will." Not until the subordinated mass becomes fully enlightened as to the nature of its own condition, so that not merely does it feel that condition to be oppressive and unjust, but in addition has come to recognise that no human institution, or almost none, can be regarded as inevitable, or as the outcome of "God's will," but that all that man has created can be destroyed or in important respects modified—then at length the differences in question give rise to a racial struggle, a class struggle, a sex struggle, and a social problem comes to the front.

What we have spoken of as the social problem is, however, made up in actual fact of a number of different individual problems. Even though all of these are intimately interconnected, yet they are so diverse

in origin, manifestation, and aim, that we ought to speak of them rather in the plural than in the singular. To restrict our consideration to Europe—although no European country is free from the pressure of such problems, yet those which press differ in the various lands; and even in the individual countries of Aryan civilisation, the bearing and importance of such problems differ very greatly according to the peculiarities of the historical, social, political, and economic development of the respective nations.

Yet there is one phenomenon common to all these movements aiming at a solution of the various social problems. The demand for emancipation does not in the first instance arise from the most oppressed strata of the class, nation, or sex deeply concerned; it is always voiced, at the outset, by a few idealists belonging to the ranks of the privileged, and not till later does it become the war-cry of the most instructed among the oppressed. These latter, having become aware that their class, their race, or their sex is oppressed by the existing order, that is by the men and the circumstances that represent and are the outcome of that order, initiate an active struggle for enfranchisement.

Considering in especial the movement for the emancipation of women, we find that the sense of oppression is now very strongly felt by certain women who constitute a proportion of their sex quantitatively small, but who, qualitatively regarded, form the most noteworthy and valuable section of the feminine world. In the author's view, we must recognise here one of the most important advances of our own immediate time. The woman's question, when we consider its historical foundation, the diversity of its

social, intellectual, and economic aspects, and the intensity of feeling that animates the movement, must be recognised as being no fairy tale to occupy the energies of a few unbalanced women, but a most serious problem, whose solution demands the co-ordinated efforts of the best of both sexes.

To-day, notwithstanding the conquest by women of the right of entry to a few academic faculties, and notwithstanding their attainment of certain electoral rights, we stand only at the very opening of the way to a solution. As regards the great mass of women, there is still lacking that keen sense of injustice which, as we saw above, must be the essential preliminary to the origination of a true social problem.

The inferiority of woman's status is especially manifest in the outward circumstances of her life. I have before me a notification of betrothal received from Germany. Within the thick four-page card, in fine lithographic writing, we read on the left-hand page: "M. N. and his wife Marie (*née* T.) have the honour to inform you of the betrothal of their daughter Eva to A. B., the Landowner [*Rittergutsbesitzer*], of Great J. on R." On the right-hand page: "A. B., Landowner, of Great J. on R., has the honour to announce his betrothal to Miss Eva N., only daughter of Mr. M. N. and his wife Marie, *née* T."

Anyone reading this invitation without close consideration will probably fail to notice anything peculiar about it. Indeed, to those who know the social usages of German life, and, more particularly, to those who know the status of the family M. N., it will appear extremely simple and modest. Here M. N., in fact, was as a young man an officer in the Royal Prussian Reserve, and is at the present time invested

with several Orders; but in the invitation to his daughter's betrothal he foregoes his plain right to draw your attention to these marks whereby he is distinguished from the common herd of the bourgeoisie.

Nothing more than this would occur to the mind of the ordinary reader; in other respects he would detect absolutely nothing peculiar about the wording of the invitation. So ingrained are conventional views in the minds of the present generation, that the most abnormal phenomenon is accepted as normal without question.

Let us read the invitation attentively once again. The bridegroom, we are told, is a Landowner (*Rittergutsbesitzer*). But what does this mean? Does it indicate his profession? By no means, for, if he has a profession at all, it is that of agriculturist (*Landwirth*—*i.e.*, in his case "gentleman farmer"). But it seems to me a fact of importance only to the tax-collector that the agriculturist happens also to be a Landowner. From the strictly logical point of view, it is surely a strange way in which to denote one's profession by this fine-sounding phrase *Rittergutsbesitzer!* We learn from it not the quality of the man, but his quantitative position. Why did not he simply inform us upon the notification that he belongs to the highest class of tax-payers? Why, when he wishes to tell us his position in life, does he go out of his way to inform us that he "owns" something? In other walks of life descriptive terms of this character would sound strange to our ears. Yet for a man to describe his social position as "owner of a collection of coins," or "owner of canary-birds," or "owner of two hundred silver spoons," would be no more ridiculous; indeed,

etymologically speaking, and considering its current significance, the term *Rittergutsbesitzer* is perfectly analogous.

We see, therefore, that our bridegroom A. B. of Great J., in sending out this announcement to the world, has informed us, not what he does, but what he has, not what his work is, but what he owns. Any one can very well play the part of landed "proprietor" without concerning himself about what he owns any more than by putting an agent in charge, and at the end of each year drawing his rents. As a landowner, he can very well at the same time be an officer in active service, an official, or simply an idler —and this last he often is in actual fact. Only the description "agriculturist" would tell us that he was really engaged in the working of his estate. If this agriculturist possesses much property, a great number of swine or cattle for instance, it remains open to him, if he really wishes to define his position as agrarian capitalist, to describe himself as "great agriculturist," "super-agriculturist," or the like. The word *Rittergutsbesitzer* gives us no adequate idea of the nature of Herr A. B. of Great J. A rich merchant would tell as much and as little about himself by stating that he was the "owner of millions." It is a matter of difficulty to translate this word *Rittergutsbesitzer* into English, French, or Italian, so as to convey its peculiar implications. It happened once in Verona that I had to play the part of interpreter in a law-case in which a German student was charged with smuggling tobacco into the country. When asked his father's profession, the student replied "*Rittergutsbesitzer*." When I translated this remarkable concept into Italian, the President of the Court replied

with a smile, "We do not want to know what this gentleman's father owns, but what his profession is!"

We have learned so far that the bridegroom of the fortunate Eva is a land-"owner." The girl's father, it appears, Herr M. N., since nothing is said about his profession, is at most a "man of independent means." Yet this conclusion would be altogether wrong. Those who know the man in question are well aware that he is, and for the last half-century has been, a cloth merchant who is, despite his age, still actively engaged in business, and that he is descended from one of the old burgher families of a great south German city. We have therefore to ask ourselves why it is that while young Herr A. B. of Great J., who perhaps bought his estate only a few months back, proudly describes himself as *Rittergutsbesitzer*, his destined father-in-law, Herr M. N., who has been hard at work all his life, has preferred to say nothing at all about his own social status. Is this modesty—or is it shame?

In actual fact, it is shame. The merchant is not fond of describing himself as such. To understand this fact it will be necessary to give a short sketch of social conditions in Germany.

Notwithstanding the fact that Germany has long since entered the industrial phase, feudalism is far from being a thing of the past. The development of social conditions has not kept pace with the economic progress of the country. Although, economically speaking, far beyond the agrarian stage, in social and political matters the country is still largely dominated by the conceptions proper to agrarian feudalism. In lands in which social progress has been more extensive, as in England and the United

States, and even in those such as Italy, whose economic development is far behind that of Germany, the industrial bourgeoisie is largely, if not entirely, emancipated from feudalism, and effectively fulfils the part assigned to it in society by the modern development of economic life. In Germany, on the other hand, the bourgeoisie still, socially speaking, occupies a status of inferiority. Members of that class who wish to play a part in German "society" can do so only by adopting the manners of feudalism, or, to speak more accurately, by aping these manners to the best of their ability. Even then they are rigidly excluded from the leading positions in the army, the navy, and the executive.

One among innumerable consequences of this morbid state of affairs, to the persistence of which we must chiefly ascribe the political and social flabbiness of the German bourgeoisie, is that agrarian capitalism is far more highly esteemed than either industrial or mercantile capitalism. The *Rittergutsbesitzer*, even if he should have sprung from a family of parvenus, is far more highly considered than any merchant, even of burgher origin. Whereas the former is accustomed to make a display of his status as landowner, the latter is shy of speaking of himself as a merchant. Whilst the former describes his position by speaking of his possessions, although, logically speaking, his ownership of land has nothing to do with his calling in life, the latter commonly prefers to say nothing about his occupation. The landowner enjoys a certain feudal prestige; the merchant not only lacks this prestige, but is even regarded by those "in society" with a certain disdain.

There is yet more to be learned from the announce-

ment we are considering. We can learn from it the undeveloped condition of our sexual morality. The Herr *Rittergutsbesitzer* A. B. of Great J. is betrothed to Miss Eva N., "only daughter of Mr. M. N. and his wife Marie, *née* T."; and, as we learn also from the card, M. N. and his wife "have the honour to notify you of the betrothal of their daughter Eva to Herr Rittergutsbesitzer, etc." It will be observed that the invitation is issued in the name of the father and the mother, and not in that of the daughter herself.[1] We have here a vestige of a barbaric mode of expression

[1] This analysis of the invitation to a betrothal was first published in the review *Ethische Kultur* of July 4th, 1903, vol. xi. No. 27, and was reprinted in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (No. 183 of the same year). In No. 186 of the same paper appeared a letter containing the following apt amplification of my views:—"In this announcement, which seems to be couched in such modest phrases, one remarkable peculiarity may be detected, yet it is one which recurs so frequently in such documents in this country that hardly any one ever notices it, and it has even escaped the vigilant eye of the previous writer. I refer to the harmless sounding word 'only.' Why, I ask myself, whenever I see this particular reference, does the fortunate bridegroom draw our particular attention to the fact that he is betrothed to the *only* daughter of Mr. X.? Are we to imagine that he is inspired with some sentiment of compassion for the poor parents, who are about to hand over to him their one and only child? This would be touching on his part, but it is highly improbable. The attribute of being an only daughter is to make up for the lack of certain other attributes, which in caste-ridden Germany are not foregone without reluctance. When a Mandarin makes up his mind to marry the daughter of some plebeian Müller or Schültze, he feels it necessary to make excuses or to provide explanations to himself and to the other members of his caste for the step he is taking in marrying out of it. The word 'only' furnishes this excuse or explanation. Every one understands at once what has determined the Herr Graf or the Rittmeister of the Landwehr Kavallerie to undertake this misalliance. His coat of arms was in urgent need of regilding, and no one but an 'only daughter' could provide the gold. Thus the only daughter on the one side is the correlative of the Herr Rittergutsbesitzer on the other; one brings quantity, the other quality; to the German mind the quality is far more

dating from the days of the *patria potestas.* The father, owner of his daughter, body and soul, has, naturally without asking her consent, disposed of her to a husband for an adequate consideration, and is notifying his relatives and friends in due form that the bargain has been struck. To-day it is true that in many instances—although these are far from being as general as might be wished—the engagement has run an evolutionary course; the girl is herself in such cases responsible for the affair, and the form of notification is a mere survival—though one throwing a humiliating light on woman's position. In Italy, where girls have less liberty, and where the number of young persons who arrange their own love affairs independently and spontaneously, and apart from previous instructions from their parents, is much smaller than in Germany, there is at least as regards participation in the betrothal some equality of treatment between the sexes: in the case of the young man no less than in that of the young woman it is the parents who send out the formal notice of betrothal. But in Germany the girl is not placed on an equal footing with her betrothed as regards the announcement of the most important act of her life. It is not she but her parents who issue this intimation. In the man's case, on the other hand, his parents, although they have often had a good deal to say in the preliminaries to the betrothal, play no official part in its announcement, and are not even mentioned. By this modest withdrawal from the scene they admit before all the world their son's moral independence. Thus in this

pleasing, but the union of the two seems not amiss. Any one in France who went out of his way to announce his betrothal to 'une fille unique' would be generally laughed at."

matter also we see the artificial maintenance of distinctions between the relative sexual independence of man and wife; the girl is strictly subordinated to the will of her parents, and has no personal freedom in respect of this fundamental matter; she is a chattel transferred from the father's hands to those of the husband. To judge from the terms of the announcement, the bridegroom's "engagement" is not so much with his bride as with her parents.

We have learned that the intimation of betrothal under consideration, despite its simple and harmless appearance, exhibits many features worthy of the closest consideration. It is a document which effectively demonstrates under various aspects the arrested evolution of social conditions in Germany. Not only does it display the enduring power of agrarian capitalism and the resulting ethical weakness and social inferiority of the German industrial bourgeoisie. In addition, it draws our special attention to the nature of one of the most necessary and most arduous tasks lying before the modern feminist movement.

The woman's movement, if it is to be logically consistent, must not cease to protest against all those external forms of public life which imply a depreciation of woman, or a lower estimation of woman than of man. Even when such a form may at first sight seem to be a mere convention of speech, or to be so encrusted by centuries of tradition that most of those concerned have quite forgotten its original significance, protest is none the less necessary. One of the most striking examples of such conventional usages is to be found in the different terminology we employ to designate two great classes of womanhood. In all the countries of civilised Europe, a sharp distinction

is drawn in current speech between the married woman (mistress, Frau, madame, señora, senhora, mevrouw, etc.) and the unmarried (miss, Fräulein, mademoiselle, señorita, senhorita, mejuffrouw, etc.). The former group of names is reserved to designate legally married women; terms of the second order are applied to all unmarried women, indifferently whether these are young women awaiting marriage, elderly women who have remained unmarried, or those who, though in sexual relationships, have not entered these upon a legalised footing. The use of such discriminative terms represents for women as a whole an interference, on the part of the man-controlled state, of an extremely offensive and morally impermissible character. A close consideration of the problem leads us to ask ourselves what business it is of the majority whether a woman has or has not entered into sexual relationships with a man, and whether before doing so she has passed through certain legal formalities. We have further to ask ourselves whether the same sort of attitude in this matter is exhibited towards men. We know, of course, that men are not thus divided into two categories in the light of their legalised sexual relationships. A man is addressed as plain "Mr." indifferently whether he is a married man or a bachelor, an adolescent, a libertine, or a worn-out roué. The bachelor would strongly object to be distinguished from the married man by the use of some special honorific prefix—as if, in the German language, we were to speak to and of him in the diminutive form as Herrchen A. just as we speak in diminutive form of Fräulein B. Compare it in English in the case of two well-known names. Everyone speaks of Miss

Christabel Pankhurst, should they not speak also of Master Arthur Balfour? Thus only could we mete the like measure to both parties; thus, at least, we should all know at any distance that neither of the persons named had as yet entered the holy state of matrimony.[1]

The complete change of name which a woman undergoes at marriage is open to a criticism of precisely the same order. It may be said that in the mercantile circles of England, France, and Germany, where it is not customary for the married woman to retain even her own Christian name, the wife's identity, so far as her name is concerned, is completely merged in that of the husband. Not a trace of her former identity remains. In Germany, Fräulein Mariechen Müller becomes Frau Zacharias Winkelfink, just as in England Miss Ermintrude Brown becomes Mrs. Montmorency Smith. Thus the wife resigns a name which discloses her origin for a name which indicates into whose possession she has passed. For Fräulein Mariechen Müller has ceased to exist. She has been outwardly metamorphosed. The name Frau Zacharias Winkelfink is, properly speaking, a grammatical error, a nominative used in

[1] In many countries, not indeed in Germany or France, but, for example, in England and Italy, there does exist a term corresponding to some extent to "Miss" or "Signorina"—in England, "Master;" in Italy, "Signorino"—but these terms are employed solely to denote young persons of the male sex, without any reference to their civil state. No one ever thinks of calling an old bachelor "Master X." in England, or "Signorino Y." in Italy. The term "signorino" is indeed sometimes applied in central and southern Italy to persons of mature age, but is then employed rather as a term of endearment, and is often applied to married men as well as to unmarried. The words "signorino" and "master" are used more especially by servants when speaking of or addressing their master.

place of the genitive. Frau Zacharias Winkelfink is merely a condensed way of writing, "The wife of Zacharias Winkelfink." Although this is the usage in Germany, France, and England, it is otherwise in Italy. Here the wife retains not only her baptismal name, but also her maiden surname, either prefixed to her husband's name, or as a supplement. Thus, Signorina Bice Silvani, marrying Ettore Prati, does not become Signora Ettore Prati, but Signora Bice Prati Silvani, or more commonly Bice Silvani in Prati. A similar usage obtains in Portugal and in Brazil, where the married woman retains her own surname, adding to it that of her husband preceded by the preposition *de;* Senhorita Conchita Amorim, marrying Senhor Seixas, becomes Senhora Conchita Amorim de Seixas. But this mode of designation, whilst respecting the integrity of the woman's maiden name, still throws into relief the fact of marital possession.

The position of the married woman as a dependent or chattel further finds expression in the fact that, in Germany at least, the wife assumes the husband's titles and dignities. As a result of this convention, the wife who has acquired the title of Doctor by her own exertions through years of arduous study is not distinguished from any uneducated woman who happens to have married a doctor. In other countries than Germany such monstrosities as the German "Frau Geheimrat," "Frau Leutnant," and the like, would not merely appear supremely ridiculous, but would further be considered as an indecent kind of usurpation, a wearing of borrowed feathers. In Italy, France, and England, the wife is known simply as Madame, etc., excepting only where we have to do with titles of nobility, which may in some sort be

regarded as inherent in the name. A French Minister of State when issuing an official invitation will write: "Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et Mme. X. ont l'honneur," etc.

Whereas in Germany the wife's name, masked by extraneous titles, commonly disappears from view, we find that other nations preserve at least the Christian name in intimate social intercourse. Thus the Russian lady, among her social equals, is addressed without any courtesy title—for instance, Anna Theodorowna (Anna, daughter of Theodor), or Vera Polowna (Vera, daughter of Paul). In like manner, in the upper circles of Italian society, intimates speak to a married woman, as in Russia, without the use of a husband's name, but in Italy the courtesy title is employed—as Signora Julia, or if the person spoken to is of noble birth, Donna Julia. Herein we see indications that women are more highly esteemed by men, inasmuch as in this locution the woman is not addressed solely as a wife (Madame), or as a mere appendage to her husband (Frau Leutnant), but is considered and esteemed for her own individuality.

There is hardly any country in Europe in which the children bear any trace of the name of the mother who bore them. If in Germany to-day we sometimes find that individuals bear the mother's name in addition to the father's, we may be sure that it has not been a sense of justice towards and love for the mother, nor obedience to a logical postulate, which has determined that the offspring shall thus bear the joint imprint of the two that have procreated them, but that the use of the mother's name has been the outcome merely of vanity and love of display. Those of whom we speak are in general

the children of bourgeois fathers by mothers of noble birth. In this respect a juster practice obtains in the United States and also in Spain. In the former country, the firstborn of a well-to-do family, of course taking as his surname that of the father, receives as his baptismal name the maiden name of his mother, or, if you will, the name of his paternal grandfather. For example, Elsie Hunter marries George Grey, and their eldest son will bear the name of Hunter Grey. Still more logical is the Spanish usage, for in Spain the children bear the name of the mother appended to that of the father, connected by the conjunction *y* (and). Thus, if Señorita Quejedo marries Señor Chotuno, all the children of this marriage will bear the name of Chotuno y Quejedo. In Sardinia also, and in certain parts of Sicily, we find a similar practice, doubtless in both cases a relic of the ancient Spanish dominion. The children of these children—for obvious reasons, since otherwise in three generations their names would comprise eight terms—bear only the first name of the paternal grandfather followed by the first name of the mother, the names of the two grandmothers being dropped. Thus, unfortunately, the transmissibility of the mother's names is limited for insuperable technical reasons. Within these limits, however, as the example of Spain shows, it is possible to recognise to some extent the just and logical demand that the children should bear some stamp of the mother's identity as well as of that of the father. The facts analysed in this chapter have shown that in this respect Germany (including German Austria), despite the existence of a vigorous feminist movement, lags greatly behind the rest of the civilised world.

CHAPTER II.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF LOVE—THE MONOGAMOUS TAMING OF POLYGAMOUS TENDENCIES.

Sexual Character of Love—The Unwholesome Craving for a "Pure" Woman—The Progress of Sexual Love and its Conquests in the Physiological Domain—Habituation in the Amatory Life—Polygamous Tendencies of the Male—The Factor of Variety and its Rights—The Maintenance of Vivacity in the Sexual Relationships of Married Life as a Prophylaxis against Adultery—The Æsthetic Postulate.

LOVE is sexual love. In the definition given by Alexis Piron, the French poet of the time of Louis XV., whose talent was praised by Frederick the Great, "l'amour c'est un mal qui prend d'abord par les yeux; une tumeur se forme ensuite au cœur et perce un peu plus bas,"[1] we may take exception to the cynical form, but not to the content.

We have to recognise the existence of an inalienable right, which has all the clarity of a natural law, and is endorsed by the essential data of physiology. The recognition of this right throws light upon the difficult and complex ethical questions of sexual love. We refer, of course, to the right to sexuality.[2]

Sex being inseparable from the human body, it

[1] *Paris-Bohême en 1820; La vie de garçon dans les hotels garnis de la capitale*, p. 58.

[2] The limitations which must be imposed upon this right have been discussed in the first chapter.

inevitably follows that love cannot be reasonably considered independently of the bodily function with which it is thus associated. It is not denied that the tree of love may grow upwards into the purest and most sublime altitudes of idealism; but it remains always true that its roots are found in the mother earth of the sexual function. To exclude sexuality from love would kill love as effectually as we should kill friendship by excluding devotion, science by excluding freedom of thought, religion by excluding metaphysics. Love without sexuality is a delusive or dangerous auto-suggestion. Asexual love, within marriage or without, is void and vain.[1] There is no one who does not know this. In practical experience every one is aware that love is necessarily based upon a sensual foundation. But the legend of sin and the hypocrisy of our social life have combined to bring about in men that disastrous dualism of spirit which manifests itself in the divorce between the night consciousness and that of the day. The night consciousness accepts without question all degrees of sensuality; the day consciousness is that of a being who believes himself to have been transformed into an incorporeal angel. It is this same dualism that leads the average male to regard women as mistresses by night and as saints by day.[2]

[1] W. Herrmann, the Lutheran professor of philosophy, insists very decisively upon the inalienable right to the life of the senses in marriage. He goes so far as to say: "The essential foundation of marriage is always to be found in a sensual love towards some definite person of the opposite sex. A union not thus blessed by nature, though lifelong and hallowed by the Church, is not matrimony but fornication." (*Ethik*, p. 152. Mohr, Tübingen-Leipzig, 1901.)

[2] Compare the interesting study by Christian von Ehrenfels, "Sexuelles Ober- und Unterbewusstsein" ("The Sexual Supra- and Sub-consciousness"), *Polit. Anthrop. Revue*, *loc. cit.*, p. 465.

Men whose lives are passed in the company of depraved women, or in that of women whose worse side is alone known to them, are apt to be inspired by an intense desire for a "pure" woman. By this epithet they usually mean to imply chastity in the masculine view—that is, sexual sobriety, coupled with passive obedience towards the man in whose hands the woman finds herself.

Those men, on the other hand, who are coupled with a dull though worthy woman, are inspired with a very different yearning. What they want is a "genuine" woman. By this they mean one who is vivacious, spirited, and witty, endowed with charm, and not devoid of coquetry. Both of these yearnings must be regarded as the outcome of reaction from a state of ethico-sexual dissatisfaction, as the necessary sequel of two diverse pathological states.

This idea of the "pure" woman never originated in the brain of a moral-thinking man, of one who loves a woman despite her technical "impurity," in so far as this has not been the outcome of any offence against the laws of the categorical imperative. The "pure" woman is a fiction of the libertine. The libertine is one who suffers from a distressing cleavage of the soul. He experiences alike the hot desire for the gratification of his senses, and the ardent yearning for the white-souled and inaccessible maiden described by the Germans as the *Madonna type*. Thus he lives perpetually in an unworthy oscillation between these two tendencies, whereby his mind is transformed into a turbid chaos. The discovery of the "pure" woman, which should fill him with ecstasy, actually makes him shudder. He becomes almost delirious at the mere thought that, after all, this "pure" woman may

be apt for sexual excitement. He burns to possess her, but the attainment of possession brings him no delight. Now he cannot forgive her for having consented to his wishes. Thereby she has divested herself of her sanctity, and has lowered herself in his eyes to the level of ordinary women—she is a slave, like the rest, to her own passions. Thus the libertine ultimately comes to despair of himself and of all the world. He no longer speaks of women as individuals, but only collectively as "woman" or "women"; as a sex capable of all the vices, and endowed with but a single good quality, that of exciting and gratifying man's sexual needs—an excitement and gratification that have, moreover, to be paid for by the most costly sacrifices of body and soul. He comes ultimately to ridicule the idea that any women can exist, in any nation or any class of society, who are not ready to dispose of their favours for money or money's worth. The conquest of a woman is for him no longer a qualitative question, but simply a quantitative one; for in his eyes all the daughters of Eve are alike fragile and ready to fall. He classifies "women," not in different moral grades, but simply according to their price.

The main cause of such aberrations of mind is to be found in the confusion of ideas from which those are apt to suffer who have for many years observed only one aspect of social phenomena, and then have to give an opinion upon the same phenomena in all their complexity. The steward of an officers' mess will naturally consider a victorious campaign, so long as he has not himself suffered bereavement thereby, as a matter to be celebrated with feasting and champagne, and as the most joyful occurrence that God, in

a moment of exceptional good humour, has ever decreed for mortal delight. In like manner the more women the libertine has known the less will he be likely to understand woman as a whole, because those specimens of the sex of whom he has had experience have always been viewed from his own peculiar outlook. He may be deeply experienced in the art of love, be a greater expert in matters of feminine underclothing than the manufacturers of these articles are themselves, he may have cultivated extraordinarily acute powers of observation in the science of *comment elles se donnent*, but though he may know "women," he does not know Woman. For the very reason that he has acquired a hypertrophied knowledge of one side of feminine life, the libertine is altogether unable to understand that the ideal type which his mind has forged as the antithesis of the real type of his actual experiences, possesses the same sexual characteristics (though perhaps in a more natural and normal form) as those women whom he has learned to despise. It is thus a perfectly logical sequence that the demand for absolute feminine purity should come, not from the idealists, who prize and esteem a sane sensuality in women as a precious gift of civilisation, but from those elements of the masculine world which have need of an unattainable idol because the uncleanness of their own minds makes them sense always in women those characteristics which all women, in virtue of their sex, necessarily share with prostitutes —*i.e.*, with those from whom the men we are considering derive all their notions of womankind.

Thus a false idealism disturbs the balance of our judgment in matters of sex, tingeing that judgment with a vicious and inapplicable dualism, and degrad-

ing our æsthetic and ethical valuations of sex. This false idealism is no less pernicious than a loose sensualism. In actual fact, the two are blood brothers, twin-born from an imperfect knowledge of real life and from a narrow or corrupt education. Berth says very well: "The true idealist is not he who denies nature, but he who, playing his legitimate and necessary natural part, liberates himself for the spiritual life. The rich man and the poor, the ascetic and the libertine, it might be affirmed, are equally materialists."[1]

No woman of calm and elevated mind has ever felt any sense of injury or affronted honour in consequence of the sexual admiration of a man. Why should a tacit homage paid to the irresistible nature of her feminine charms be regarded as offensive? The accessory phenomena of desire may, indeed, deprive desire of its innocent aspect; but the desire *per se* cannot render such homage offensive. No woman can prevent a man longing to possess her. But every woman has the right to demand that unless such a man has an honest wish for a life in common with her, conjugal, or, if that is impossible, extra-conjugal, he should at the same time show very clearly, concomitantly with the expression of his desire, that he renounces all hope of its satisfaction. The admiring glance which the cavalry officer throws *casually* (this word is italicised designedly, to avoid possible misinterpretation) at the handsome factory girl who hastens past him in the street is no less honourable than the discreet look with which the waiter in a high-class restaurant regards the lady whom he

[1] Edouard Berth, *Dialogues Socialistes*, *loc. cit.*, p. 313. Jacques, Paris, 1901.

serves at dinner. A woman's sense of dignity need suffer only from the effrontery of the bold glances of a man capable of disregarding all moral restraints, who esteems her so lightly as to think her ready to respond to his first advance.

As the human race progresses in civilisation, the amatory life becomes more refined, the intensity of sexual enjoyment increases, and love comes to play an even greater part in the life and thoughts of mankind.

As Voltaire pointed out, the physiological attractions of the amatory life have been notably increased by the attainment of a higher level of personal cleanliness, whereby the skin has become finer and more sensitive, the pleasurable sensations associated with the sense of touch have become more numerous, and the organs far more sensitive.[1] The sexual apparatus, understanding this term in the widest sense, acquires an ever greater extension; in other words, the number of parts of the human body which exercise an erogenic influence increases.

In the animal kingdom, the genital organs alone are competent to arouse sexual excitement; the other parts of the body, the head not excepted, have no aphrodisiac charm. When two dogs of opposite sexes meet, they are not concerned with one another's muzzles; their interests are elsewhere. Civilised man, on the other hand, is influenced in his choice of a sexual companion above all by the appearance of the face. The face is the first part of the human body that he observes—the rest indeed is hidden—and the first which inspires him with love. There is thus sound reasoning at the basis of the Turkish practice

[1] Voltaire, *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, p. 19. Flammarion, Paris.

which forbids women to expose those features to which the face mainly owes its expression, and by which women are chiefly distinguished one from another.[1] This custom serves, in fact, as a prophylaxis against the love of strangers, and safeguards the marital honour more effectually than it can be guarded by eunuchs.

Among the earlier civilisations, and yet more to-day among the uncivilised races, the bodily sphere of the sexual life is strictly limited. To the Indians, the Persians, and even to the ancient Greeks, the kiss was unknown. The breast, to-day one of the centres of the amatory life, and of which the poets sing that it lends wings to love, is mentioned by Homer simply as an organ of motherhood, and by no means as an indirect adjuvant to generation.[2] Thus in the savage state the sphere of erotic sensibility is confined to the reproductive organs. Among the negroes to-day, neither the breast nor the mouth has any erotic importance. In respect of the breast, this deficiency may in part depend upon the prolongation of the period of lactation, which among many of the black

[1] This was acutely noted by a Piedmontese officer during the Crimean war (Luigi Gianotti, *Da Torino a Roma, Ricordi* [From Turin to Rome: Memoirs], p. 190. Candeletti, Turin, 1888.)—Jean Jacques Rousseau censures the women of Paris because they dress themselves in such a manner as to expose too much of their bodies, and exclaims: "By thus acting, such women display a poor understanding of their own interests; for even if a woman's face lacks charm, the onlooker's imagination would give him a livelier idea of the rest than he receives by direct vision."—(*La nouvelle Heloïse, loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 11).

[2] It is true that the ancient Hebrews, more advanced in this respect than the Greeks of their own or even of a later time, had fully recognised the erotic importance of the female breast, as is clearly shown by the verses on the subject in the "Song of Solomon."—(*Cf.* L. Cicognani, *Il Cantico dei Cantici.* Bocca, Turin, 1911).

races endures until the child approaches puberty. Not until a higher civilisation arises are these two portions of the body included within the sphere of the organs of sex, once more interpreting this term in the most ample sense. Cesare Lombroso goes so far as to speak of the female breast and the mouth as "acquired sexual organs," in contra-distinction to the congenital sexual organs which exercise the procreative function.[1]

But it is not only the physical sphere of eroticism which thus undergoes a continuous extension; an analogous expansion affects the spiritual relationships of the amatory life. The influences capable of exercising an erotic effect undergo an immeasurable increase. Thence arise, on the one hand, many phenomena belonging to the domain of sexual pathology, such, for instance, as homosexuality;[2] thence also arise, on the other hand, the frequent relationships of the psychology of love with the intellectual tastes of the time. Remy de Gourmont relates the incident of two romantic lovers, "que l'on vit, enveloppés par l'orage, se posséder avec fureur."[3] In their brains full of romance, the thunder and the lightning had been transformed into erotic potentialities.

One co-efficient of the amatory life, to which far from sufficient attention has hitherto been paid, is the force of habit—dull and sluggish habit. Upon

[1] Cesare Lombroso, *Organi e gesti umani acquisiti* ("Acquired organs and Characteristics in the Human Race"), p. 6 *et seq.* Martinotti, Milan, 1899.

[2] Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis.* Stuttgart, 1894.

[3] ". . . who were seen, in the midst of the storm, to join with the utmost ardour in the sexual embrace."—Remy de Gourmont, "Le succès de l'idée de beauté," *Mercure de France*, vol. xxxix., No. 140, 1901.

habit depends, in most cases, conjugal fidelity;[1] in all cases, that is to say, if we except those in which a strong and genuine affection persists, and those in which the conduct is regulated by effective moral convictions. The importance of this factor increases above all with advancing age, when both man and woman gradually lose the aggressive tendencies of sex. Their senses become blunted, and demand nothing more than the regular provision of their daily rations.[2] The oncoming of age has tamed their instincts of conquests. They lack courage, physical and moral elasticity, and ability to undertake the pursuit of new prey. Thus they remain faithful to their old associate.[3] In similar cases where the union is extra-conjugal, the man will end

[1] Moreau de St. Méry relates that the Creole women of the island of San Domingo have plenty of lovers, but he observes that it may be said, "they atone for their faults by the faithfulness of their illicit loves." Of the women who remain true to their husbands he writes: "Cherishing the lover in the husband, the fidelity which assures the tranquillity of domestic life is more often the outcome of a passionless wisdom than of a virtue based upon struggle and self-conquest."—"Fragment sur le caractère des créoles de San Domingue" ("A note on the character of the Creole women of San Domingo," p. 34), read to the Public Assembly, May 27th, 1784.

[2] The only "moral" reflection uttered by *Lieutenant de Gustel* in Arthur Schnitzler's work of that name, p. 15 (Fischer, Berlin, 1904), is the following: "There is really something to be said for the idea of keeping a pretty woman in one's own house, to be at one's disposal at any moment of the day!" This appeared to him the chief advantage of matrimony.

[3] *Cf.* the following verses from Italian classical literature (Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, p. 37. Pitteri, Venice, 1788):—

"La fede in cor di donna, se pur fede
In donna alcuna, ch'io nol so, si trova,
Necessità d'amor, misera legge
Di fallita beltà che un sol gradisce
Perché gradita esser non può da molti."

by marrying his old love, from inertia, from the fear of possible rivals, and from the force of habit.[1] Moreover, the power of habit, in association with the phenomena of oncoming age, is so great that the relationships between a married man and his mistress may ultimately become assimilated so completely to those which obtain between him and his wife as to be characterised by the same fierce jealousy and the same mutual fidelity; and in such cases there may arise a two-fold quasi-legitimate sexual union:[2] the mistress, like the wife, demands devotion and monogamy; and the mistress may even insist upon the man's ceasing all sexual relationships with his legal wife.

Such phenomena of habituation to monogamy are seen only in the later stages of married life, for the male is unquestionably characterised by polygamous tendencies. Even woman, as a rule, is not free from polyandrous inclinations. Nevertheless, her erotic sensibilities are much less developed than those of the male, for a prolonged and severe suppression of sexual manifestations during the period of virginity has produced its inevitable result. There are women,

> (Fidelity in the heart of woman, if fidelity
> In any woman, which I doubt, be found,
> Is the outcome of necessity, of the wretched law
> That a woman who is no longer beautiful wishes
> to please one man
> Because she is no longer pleasing to many).

[1] *Cf.* Alphonse Daudet, *Sapho*, p. 214. Marpon et Flammarion, Paris, 1887.

[2] This phenomenon has been very carefully described in numerous French novels, and with exceptional psychological penetration in J. H. Rosny's *L'Autre femme*, p. 57 (Paris, "Ren. du Livre"). *Cf.* also Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*, 3rd Edition, p. 242. M. Lévy, Paris, 1857.

moreover, whom the austere education given by the Church has had the effect of rendering, up to a certain point, independent of the male in sexual matters. But with men it is very different. Although for a short time, or even for considerable periods, a man's sexual affections may appear to assume an exclusive and monogamic form, it is Nature's will that the normal male should feel a continuous and powerful sexual sympathy towards a considerable number of women. Christian von Ehrenfels affirms, speaking of this male polygamous tendency, that if it were a moral precept that with any particular woman a man should never have intercourse more than once in his life, this would correspond far better with the healthy nature of the male uninfluenced by civilisation, education, and moral suggestions, would demand from a man far less power of self-conquest, than is needed for the observance of the conventional recommendation that he should confine his sexual experiences to a single woman.[1] Now we cannot go so far as to agree with Ehrenfels in an assertion thus forced into the limits of paradox; yet we regard it as beyond doubt that there is no man, of whatever degree of virtue, who has not, at least in imagination, or in dream life, possessed more women than one.[2] In the male, the stimuli capable of arousing sexual excitement (this term is not to be understood here in the grossly physical sense) are so extraordinarily manifold, so

[1] Christian von Ehrenfels, "Sexuales Ober- und Unterbewusstsein" ("Sexual Supra- and Sub-consciousness"), *Pol. Anthrop. Revue*, *loc. cit.*, p. 463.

[2] Attention has been drawn to this fact by an unending series of writers, both of scientific treatises and of belletristic literature, and by none more acutely than by Guy de Maupaussant in a short story entitled "Magnétisme" (*Boule de Suif*, *loc. cit.*, p. 163).

widely differentiated, that it is quite impossible for one single woman to possess them all. Thus the husband who is most strict in his observance of conjugal fidelity will encounter, a thousand times, feminine types of such a nature as to exercise an attraction upon a sensual complex not completely satisfied by the possession of one woman, and thus to arouse at least a fugitive desire; nor will he be able to hold these natural instincts in check without calling to his aid the *acquired* forces of rational and moral considerations.

Thus we see that the sexual bond may carry within itself the germs of its own dissolution, and that every marriage or free union, as the case may be, is continually menaced by the Damocles' sword of unfaithfulness; nor will it ever be possible to annul the tendencies from which arise these dangers to the conjugal life.

For the control of this polygamous tendency, it is necessary to be firmly convinced that faithfulness to one's chosen companion depends on oneself alone; in other terms, that it will suffice a man to make the least sign in order to induce the most beautiful and purest of women to fall into his arms. Similarly in woman's case, as an aid to the preservation of virtue, we have the knowledge on her part that she is admired and desired by the best. From these complex sentiments arises that strange feminine coquetry, which may have all the appearance of adultery and infidelity, but which is really no more than the harmless satisfaction of a powerful instinct, and the ultimate safeguard of conjugal felicity. It is such coquetry as this which to the unaccustomed eye makes society appear so much worse than it really is—above all in France, where the outward

freedom in sex relations is especially great. Yet coquetry is not without grave dangers of its own, inasmuch as it may readily change in character, passing from the state of a refined intellectual pleasure into that of a crude reality. Hence there can be no perfect safety-valve to avert the dangers of the sexual impulse. As the French well put it, it often happens that *qui aime le danger y périra*. Moreover, a woman's faculty for making herself respected, after she has done almost everything to invite forfeiture of respect, may be the mask assumed by that disastrous and overweening pride which makes a parade of non-existent vices merely to satisfy a mania for sexual dominion ; or it may be the mask by the assumption of which a frigid woman is enabled to secure admiration without its concomitant inconveniences. Thus, the most we can say is that coquetry, alike in men and in women, is the outcome of a desire, often unconscious, to satisfy on the immaterial plane the instinct of sex.[1]

[1] Regarding the "ideological sexuality" of coquetry, consult the admirable paper upon "Die Soziologie der Geselligkeit" ("The Sociology of Sociability"), read by Georg Simmel at the Congress of German Sociologists held at Frankfort in October, 1910. (*Verhandlungen der ersten deutschen Soziologentages, Reden und Vorträge*, p. 9, *et seq.*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1911.) Consult also the letter entitled "Renseignements," by Marcel Prévost (*Lettres de femmes, loc. cit.*, p. 96), in which we find the typical phrase: "To listen to witty and tender phrases, respectfully uttered by a man obviously desirous of illegitimate possession, seems to me one of the most amusing experiences of society life." See also the words of Roberto Bracco in the preface to his *Diritto all'amore* ("The Right to Love," Naples, 1900), where he speaks of "that vitiated society in which a virtuous woman will rarely renounce the delight of making herself appear to be the reverse." Finally, consider the views expressed upon the limits of coquetry in French women by Rousseau and by Montesquieu in the works mentioned in the note on pp. 81-2 of the present book.

The beloved woman can make use of certain safeguards for the control of the polygamous inclinations of the male. She possesses means which, though not infallible, are yet powerful, for holding in check the dangerous centrifugal tendencies of her husband, by providing for him at such times that sexual variety without which the erotic life of the male remains inadequate and incomplete. The means to which I refer are that the woman herself, within the limits of monogamic life, should become as "polygamous" as possible; in other words, that she should offer a man the possibility of appeasing his polygamous instincts within the limits of a strictly monogamic union. Let me amplify this. No one but a dullard will vaunt himself on the possession of a frigid wife; none but a dullard will fail to understand that the frigid wife is not always a frigid woman, and that frigidity, far from being a safeguard against infidelity, may on the contrary merely be its precursor.[1] The sexual embrace effected simply as a one-sided act and purely as an affair of routine must in the long run prove repulsive to a man of refined sensibilities. A woman who is devoid of a certain measure of animality, and that

[1] Jeanne Landre, in *Echalote et ses amants*, writes very well: "How touching is the confidence by which all men are afflicted, and how touching is their blindness! An ardent temperament, even if it burns for them alone, infatuates them; the opposite phase, a coldness capable of refrigerating the rays of the sun, tranquillises them. They never suspect that what is annulled by their presence, may be exalted by the presence of another. Such is their vanity that this idea never occurs to them, and the problem altogether exceeds their grasp. The woman who does not love them cannot possibly love anyone else!" (Michaud, Paris, p. 206). Prévost deduces from this psychological peculiarity of the masculine soul a kind of law to the effect that the husband is much less demonstrative and affectionate with his wife than he is with his mistress (*Lettres de femmes*, p. 101).

by no means a small measure, must be regarded as a degenerate. Many women believe that they can play their part properly in married life with nothing more than indifference, complaisance, and passivity. Many even imagine that in this way they will make their husbands realise the magnificent purity and majesty of the love of the "respectable woman," in contrast with previous experiences of the shameless pleasures of intercourse with prostitutes. Experts in erotic matters who have had occasion to compare love experiences in various European countries believe themselves to be in a position to affirm that this type of woman prevails especially in Germany. There even exists a historical legend to the effect that Pope Alexander VI., apropos of a horrible occurrence,[1] issued a Bull recommending the women of Germany to play a more active and lively part in the love-act, in order thus to render marriage a more vital affair, and to provide more adequate satisfaction for their husbands.[2] But a woman should know how to link a man to her, not only by the intensity, but also by the variety of her sexual manifestations. There is an apt Venetian proverb to the following effect: "la donna deve avere quattro emme: matrona in strada, modesta in chiesa, massaia in casa e mattona in letto."[3] That is to say, if, without offence to English prudery, we can translate the sound wit of this

[1] A case of necrophilia, in which the wife suddenly died in the sexual act without the husband, who was used to absolute passivity on his wife's part, noticing anything amiss. The anecdote is apt, but probably untrue.

[2] See the story told in verse, *La Bolla di Alessandro VI.*, by Giambattista Casti, *Novelle Galanti*, new edition, vol. ii., pp. 15 *et seq.* Florence, 1897.

[3] L. Frati, *La donna italiana*, p. 131. Bocca, Turin, 1899.

psychologically far-sighted proverb, a woman must have four aspects: in the streets she must be self-contained, in church modest, in the house diligent, and in bed frenzied. The last postulate is based upon the recognition that uniformity is the grave of love. A graceful French poet of the rococo period sang:

> "J'ai plusieurs maîtresses en elle
> Et je jouis à chaque instant
> Du mérite d'être constant
> Et du plaisir d'être infidèle."[1]

The malicious phraseology of these verses conceals a profound psychological truth.

The salvation of married life is to be found, not only in multiplex elements of a moral and economic order, but in addition in rendering the sexual life which marriage implies less monotonous. Conjugal fidelity becomes a more vital affair when the sexual relations between husband and wife are themselves more vivacious. Unless she has a certain dose of eroticism, the wife will tend unconsciously to drive her husband to adultery. What is true of ideas is

[1] I have in her many mistresses,
And at every moment I enjoy
The merit of constancy
And the pleasure of infidelity.

Stanislas de Boufflers: *Contes en prose et contes en vers*, p. 247. Paris, 1888. In similar terms, about half a century earlier, La Rochefoucauld wrote in his *Maximes*: "La constance en amour est une inconstance perpetuelle . . . arrêtée et renfermée dans le même objet" ("Constancy in love is a perpetual inconstancy . . . fixed fast and enclosed in the same object"), p. 58. Devaux, Paris, 1795. Turning to modern writers, Gaston Derys has chosen this psychological truth for the plot of one of the best of his short stories, "L'amant conjugal," *Le Courier français*, vol. xxvi, No. 50, 1909. His conclusion is, "et il ne pouvait même plus tromper sa femme."

true also of the pleasures of love; both are capable of unending combinations. The higher the degree of attraction which the sexual pleasures of marriage offer to the husband, the more probable it is that he will remain faithful to his wife.[1] In the case of two persons of opposite sex who love one another merely for the sake of sexual enjoyment, the search for more intense and more complex voluptuous pleasures has the aspect of libertinage. But in cases where the companionship of a man and a woman is not solely based upon sensuality, the possibility of lasciviousness is excluded. The chastest of wives may at the same time very well be the most ardent and the most sensual. If she is other than this, it must be owing to a foolish hypocrisy, to sexual frigidity, or to disease.

Apart from the complexity of his erotic demands, the civilised man also seeks from woman the satisfaction of certain æsthetic requirements; the latter are certainly connected with the former, and yet possess an independent value. If a woman in æsthetic matters, and above all in matters of dress, is still dominated by ancient and primitive ideas, this may be because she follows blindly the dictates of fashion even when this is ugly, or it may be because she does not know how to adapt herself properly to a beautiful fashion. She may be as coquetish as you please, and yet may be unable to harmonise her dress and her general appearance in accordance with the precepts of a sane and rational cult of beauty. In

[1] Honoré de Balzac writes: "If differences exist between one moment of pleasure and another, a man may remain always happy with the same woman." (*Physiologie du mariage*, p. 59. M. Lévy, Paris, 1876).—Other examples are adduced by Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, *loc. cit.*, p. 531.

Berlin, more especially, the attentive foreign observer cannot fail to be struck by the abundance of obese and ungraceful women to whom nature has been parsimonious in the bestowal of charms, and who are now in their turn parsimonious in the matter of dress. Across whatever frontier the stranger finds his way into Germany, unless, indeed, he happens to come from Holland, where the women are even more remarkable for these deficiencies than the women of Germany, he cannot fail, however unwillingly, to recognise how little care is paid by the female portion of the German population to the demands of personal elegance, especially in matters of dress and coiffure. In the average woman of Germany we find no trace of the *coquetterie* of the Frenchwoman,[1] of the *civiteria* of the Italian woman, of the *smartness* of the English or American woman, or even of the *Feschheit* of the Viennese Jewess. If we except the regions of the lower Rhine, where the quick blood of the inhabitants and the neighbourhood of France and Belgium have induced some modifications in the fundamental type, the average woman of Germany, not only in the middle but also in the upper classes, though clean and orderly in aspect, appears as one wearing an ungraceful costume upon a flaccid body, as one whose carriage and long inelastic step betray a lack of energy and self-respect. A malicious jester visiting Germany for the first time, having seen the collection of ladies appearing at the annual rectorial ball of a university town, remarked that now at last he was able to understand the notorious prevalence of homo-

[1] The French word *coquetterie* is used here, not so much with reference to the art of pleasing as to that of self-adornment with grace and elegance.

sexuality among German men. Apart from such witty exaggeration as this, it has to be admitted that the Germans are more advanced in power and in wealth than they are in matters of taste, and that this disharmony of development finds its most marked expression in the dress and general bearing of German women.

The gravest count in the whole indictment is that though the German middle-class woman by no means lacks the desire to appear beautiful, she altogether lacks the capacity. It may be that the women of France, Italy, and America devote a larger proportion of their day to the matter of the toilet and to the care of the body; it may be also that the percentage of the family budget allotted to these purposes is larger in France, etc., than it is in Germany. But this much is certain, that with the same expenditure of time and money the French woman is able to produce a far more graceful æsthetic impression than the German.

It need hardly be said that the writer is not defending the excessive luxury and exaggerated love of adornment which, in certain countries, and especially those of the Latin world, induce women to lead a vain and frivolous life, sometimes one of larval prostitution; still less is he in favour of an æstheticism which shall eclipse the other sides of life. Life is an extremely complex affair, and ethical considerations must unquestionably take precedence alike of beauty and of good taste. We may recall in this connection what Fr. Theodor Vischer makes "Auch Einer" say: *Das Moralische versteht sich immer von selbst* ("Morality is always a self-evident postulate"). Yet even in this complex human life, the æsthetic element is one in whose absence the man of civilised sensibilities feels cold, naked, and cheerless.

CHAPTER III.

CONJUGAL PROCREATION: ITS RIGHTS AND ITS DUTIES.

Beauty of the Paternal Instinct—Responsible Character of the Act of Procreation—Ethical Need for the Limitation of the Family: on account of Poverty; for the Preservation of Property—High Death-rate in Large Families—Destruction of Conjugal Happiness owing to the Decline of Erotic Capacity in Woman—Lack of Value to the Higher Civilisation of the "Eternal Mother"—Prompt Procreation after Marriage and its Deleterious Consequences—Right to the Use of Artificial Means for the Prevention of Conception as a Logical Inference from the Right of the Individual to the Free Disposal of his own person—Non-existence of the Unconceived Infant—Limitation of Population in relation to the World Economy—Excess of Population and National Expansion—Population in relation to Average Wealth—Conscious Procreation as a Criterion of Civilisation; and as the Unwitting Enemy of Jingoism—The Proposal that the Limitation of the Family should be effected by a Postponement of the Age at Marriage; its Refutation—"Prudential Restraint" in Married Life as a Method for the Limitation of the Family—Sexual Love an End in Itself—Preventive Intercourse and Crime—The Prevention of Conception purely a Technical and Mechanical Question—Conscious Procreation as a Factor in the Process of the Emancipation of Mankind from the Dominion of the Blind Forces of Nature.

A NEW-BORN infant is one of the most perfect masterpieces of the eternal creative force of nature. Fathers who cannot bear the sight of their own children during the first days of life,—in many cases even during the first weeks, months, or years,—who

regard them as hideous, and run away from the sight of them, show by this behaviour that they lack all knowledge of the sublime ecstasy of fatherhood, and that they are devoid of the primordial sentiment of parental love. Such men do not feel that instinctive physiological bond which should be present, not in the mother alone, but, though perhaps in a slighter degree, in the father as well. The first days, or at least the first hours after the birth of the child mean to the father who is really conscious of his fatherhood the climax of parental feeling. The mother, exhausted by the labour of parturition, has fallen into a state of lethargy, wherein she will recover new force. To the child she is as yet nothing, not even physically, for the secretion of milk will not begin for another twenty-four hours. Thus the little being newly introduced to life belongs only to the father. One who has experienced the joys of this exclusive possession will never forget them. The smallness and fineness of the limbs, the limpidity of the expressionless and still unseeing eyes, and in addition the penetrating and I might almost say appetising odour of fresh earth peculiar to the infant before it has taken its first meal, arouse sensations of delight and tenderness in one whose paternal instinct is really awake, and fill him with a sentiment of enthusiastic affection.

Yet to give life to a human being is so serious a matter that the mere thought of the responsibility thus assumed may well be profoundly alarming. It must be admitted, however, that few men of our day are much pre-occupied with such considerations. The fact that the majority still undertake the act of sexual union with as much careless indifference as they

would drink a glass of water or go out for a walk, is an indication of the scanty development of the sense of social and individual responsibility. Even those women and men who are convinced of the need for a limitation of births are apt to forget themselves in the decisive moment. Thus come into existence the children who are

> "Jouets d'un hazard qui lança
> Un spermatozoïde aveugle dans l'ovaire,"

as the academician Jean Richepin puts it in his *Blasphèmes*, children for whose material needs there is often no proper provision.

The pernicious results of improvident procreation are especially clear from the point of view of racial hygiene and of eugenics. One who procreates a child when in a state of alcoholic intoxication commits an offence against the future of his family and of his race.

A limitation of the number of the offspring is essential to the economic equilibrium of the family. This applies above all to the poorer classes of the population. If the food supply of a household is barely sufficient for four persons, the increase of the family to eight will result in a definite insufficiency of nutriment. In such cases, too, economic poverty generates moral poverty. Then we see the parents engage in the tragi-comedy of mutual reproaches about the increase in the number of their offspring. The storms that rage under the pressure of a lack of the elementary necessaries of life destroy the last blossoms on the tree of love. Even in those families which are sufficiently well off to be independent of such consideration for the grosser material needs,

the parents must not forget the responsibility that they may incur to their children, and to the descendants of these, by a further sub-division of their patrimony.

A limitation of the offspring must further be motived by a sense of responsibility aroused by observation of the fact that where women have many children child-mortality becomes extraordinarily high. According to the statistics recently collected by a German medical practitioner, the percentage of infantile mortality amongst the offspring of those who have one child only is 23.5%; in families where eight children are born the mortality reaches 51.5%; whilst in families of fifteen and upwards it is 69.3%.[1] A too frequent succession of child-births will lead, especially in the proletariat, to an excessive and premature physical decay of the women concerned; this being a phenomenon all the more distressing in view of the fact already mentioned that this disastrous effect of large families is not compensated for by a proportionate increase in the population. On the contrary, a diminution in the birth-rate leads often to a decline in infantile mortality.[2]

An undue frequency of child-births has in addition unfortunate consequences for the conjugal happiness of the pair. The woman who is weakened by a

[1] See Hamburger, "Kinderzahl und Kindersterblichkeit in Berliner Arbeiterfamilien" ("The Size of the Family in Relation to Child-mortality in Working Class Families of Berlin"), *Die Neue Generation*, vol. v. No. 9.

[2] Care must be exercised in drawing conclusions of this nature. The neo-malthusians tend to ignore many accessory factors, and to regard every social and economic gain as the exclusive outcome of the restriction of the family. Thus, from the interesting tables published by J. Rutgers, on pp. 115, 116 of his excellent work, *Rasverbetering en*

frequent succession of pregnancies often loses sexual sensibility—loses, that is to say, the taste for erotic pleasure. The long periods of sexual incapacity on the wife's part which result from numerous and rapidly successive pregnancies, together with her loss of sexual desire during the intervals, tend to open the way to adultery for those husbands whose erotic needs are strong, and who are habituated by prolonged pre-conjugal experience to the frequent satisfaction of these needs, but who have not by such experience been taught to practise any kind of self-discipline. The phrase of such light-living husbands runs: "he who can't get his meals at home must take them at an inn." They act in accordance with this precept, but often enough in such cases the wife, absorbed in her growing domestic cares, ignores her husband's breaches of conjugal fidelity.[1]

bewuste Aantalsbeperking ("Racial Regeneration and Deliberate Limitation of Numbers," Van Hengel, Rotterdam, 1905), it appears that in Holland in recent years, though there has been a contemporaneous fall in the birth-rate and a decline in infant mortality, we cannot therefore deduce with certainty the existence of a causal relationship between these two phenomena, in view of the fact that elsewhere, in Italy, for instance, a decline in infantile mortality has been associated with a rising birth-rate. The fall in infantile mortality is in fact partly dependent upon a general improvement in hygienic conditions, and more especially in the upbringing of children.

[1] G. Roberto Fantini, in his able little book entitled *Considerazioni intorno al problema sessuale* ("Thoughts on the Sexual Problem"; Formiggini, Modena, 1911), with reference to my theory of the right to a healthy sexuality, suggests that I do not give sufficient weight to the consideration that love is not confined to the material plane, and draws my attention to the fact that marriage may remain firmly established even though its purely sexual relationships are no longer active. On this point I find it easy to express my complete agreement with the writer. I am, however, enough of a pessimist to hold that in the case of the average man, if, after intimate sexual relationships with his wife have come to an end, he continues for economic or

Moreover, the type of the woman continually engaged in child-bearing is a primitive one, out of harmony with the needs and ideas of modern civilised life. When, for instance, we are told that among the Boers it is not rare for women to have from eighteen to twenty-five children, we cannot fail to be aware that the signification of this is that the entire period of a woman's procreative capacity is absorbed by the labour of procreation—in a word, that a woman's life is reduced to a purely animal function.[1] Even as few as six pregnancies that go on to full term rob a woman of about ten years of her life, and these the best, the most intensely productive and enjoyable.

"Eternal mothers," as experience shows, rarely rise above a certain routine in the upbringing of their children and the care of their households. The reason is obvious: no time has been left to them for the cultivation of such gifts as they may possess as educationists and organisers. How rarely do we find them, in the matter of their children's education, rising above the crudest and coarsest methods? It is evidently far easier to provide a clear-sighted affection and a wisely-conceived and individualised upbringing for two or three children than it is for eight or nine. This is precisely analogous to the advantage which the teaching of a cultivated private tutor has over the teaching of an equally cultivated schoolmaster teaching too numerous a class. The

sentimental reasons to respect the marriage bond as far as its external forms are concerned, there will none the less be much difficulty on his part about continuing to respect in addition the intrinsic claims of conjugal fidelity.

[1] Karl Kautsky, *Vermehrung und Entwicklung in Natur und Gesellschaft* ("Increase and Evolution in Nature and in Society"), p. 251. Dietz, Stuttgart, 1910.

former can instruct intelligently and in detail; the latter, with the best will in the world, is forced to employ rule-of-thumb methods. It has, however, to be remembered that the former runs the risk by over-cultivation of destroying the precious individuality of his pupil; while the latter, owing to the great abundance of the materials on which he can exercise no more than a sketchy influence, and the small time he is able to allot to each, cannot begin to exercise an influence either decisive or deleterious. To sum up the question, without wishing to deny that there are certain charms about a house well filled with children, it must be asserted that the limitation of the family is in the best interests alike of parents and of offspring.

It has further to be remembered that not merely an unduly rapid succession of child-births, but in addition the too early birth of the first child, may often lead to consequences of such a nature as to prevent the attainment in the life of the married couple of that minimum of happiness which is indispensable if life is not to be felt as a burden.

Marriage to-day provides neither for the gradual development of the virgin into the young wife, nor for that of the young wife into the mother; it may rather be said to skip the middle stage, so that the young woman who on one day was altogether without sexual experience is found on the next at the commencement of motherhood. It is a well-known fact that in a very large proportion of marriages the first pregnancy dates, if not from the wedding-night, at least from the first week, the first month, or the first quarter of married life. It is by no means uncommon for the bride to return from her honey-

moon as a pregnant woman. But pregnancy involves, and this is especially true of a first pregnancy, the exercise of great care for a period of nine months, the renunciation of intellectual, and in part also of physical occupation, and the renunciation of dances, of the theatre, and social life in general. It involves also an increasing incapacity or unwillingness for the sexual embrace, implying a period of sexual suspense, increasing nervous irritability, and in view of all these things, the husband, especially if he is one whose occupations keep him at home, will require an exceptionally large endowment of genuine affection for his wife, with powers of renunciation and sexual abstinence, and strong, healthy nerves. In fifty per cent. of unhappy marriages, the unhappiness dates from and depends upon the long-enduring quasi-pathological state of the young wife which is associated with pregnancy, upon her consequent incapacity to be the man's playmate, associate, and travelling companion, and also upon the previously mentioned disinclination she then feels for erotic intercourse. All these inconveniences, which at a later date the man might perhaps learn to support with greater equanimity, give rise, when he is himself inexperienced in the conjugal life, to a painful sense of disillusionment, and go far to disgust him with marriage.

For the young wife also such a speedy oncoming of pregnancy involves very serious consequences. To a woman, marriage involves a complete revolution in all her habits; a sudden and unduly crude initiation into the mysteries of the sexual life; the independent assumption of the care of a household, with all the responsibilities that this entails; a certain degree of social emancipation, with a relative freedom of move-

ment; a revision and reconstruction of the list of her relatives, friends, and acquaintances; and, finally, the discharge of certain artistic duties in the furnishing and adornment of her new home. If the young wife is to meet these complex demands successfully, she requires time for consideration, she needs to adapt herself to her new status, she needs peace and quiet; and in default of these things the basis of the new conjugal life will necessarily become insecure. Yet in most cases, on the morrow of marriage, the young wife has to devote her attention to making ready for the expected baby, and on these cares her whole mind is necessarily concentrated. It is often impossible in the course of long subsequent years to make good the damages suffered by the marriage in these early months. In the first years of married life, what the husband, though often unconsciously, mainly desires in his wife, is that she should be his companion and comrade as well as his beloved. For this he has chosen her from among other women. But none of these demands can be adequately fulfilled by the expectant or parturient mother, by the nursing mother, or by the mother pre-occupied in caring for a little child. Thus motherhood deprives the husband of many of his finest hopes—in this connection I speak always of the early married life of young husbands—and often destroys the charms and attractions which the woman possessed before marriage. The young woman doctor, who has devoted so many of the years of her youth to serious study, with the coming of the child is apt to forget her professional and scientific acquirements, and to become just such a housewife as any other woman, whereas had she not so rapidly become pregnant she would probably

have continued to meet her husband upon equal intellectual terms. Undoubtedly all this is in part an effect of the eternal triangular duel between maternal duties, conjugal duties, and woman's duties towards her own individuality. But none the less we have to ask ourselves what has become of all the women doctors and women students who have married? They have disappeared. In many cases the cause of this eclipse is to be found in the appearance of children too early in married life and in too rapid succession. As reflective and intelligent women, how few of them have survived the storms of their first experience of motherhood. In the cares and troubles of their life as mothers, they have, for the most part, allowed all their energies to become absorbed.

. . . . . .

To the *duty* of the voluntary limitation of procreation, a duty imposed by the sentiment of responsibility, corresponds the *right* to the voluntary limitation of procreation as the complement to the right of free development of one's own personality. Every human being has a right to existence. Every life has a just claim to be inviolable and intangible. In this we recognise an elementary law of humanity. In consonance with this principle, we have abolished all laws in accordance with which it was possible for human beings to own property in other human beings. For the same reason, at the time of the Second Empire, the French democrats resisted the institution of the *plébiscite*, contending that it was immoral for a nation to renounce in favour of a dynasty, not only its own sovereign rights, but also those of its descendants. Still for the same reason,

the Tolstoyans and the anti-militarist socialists make war against war and against compulsory military service, because these institutions enable the collectivity, or rather that minority which is empowered by the existing order to act in the name of the collectivity, to force individuals knowing nothing of the personality or the motives of those by whom orders to kill are issued, to risk their own lives and to take the lives of their neighbours. If we except a few cases belonging to the domain of pathology, in the light of our present knowledge the preservation of life is recognised as the supreme moral law. Reference is made, it need hardly be said, to the communal obligation towards the individual life. As far as the individual is himself concerned, his right to life or death is his own affair and that of the small number of persons with whom he is most intimately associated.

The application of these ideas to the relationships between the voluntary limitation of procreation and the demands of morality leads to the following results. The infant that may arise out of the procreative act is not yet in possession of life, nor even of a spark of life. It is no more than a speculative phantasm; in the physiological sense it is non-existent. The failure to procreate it, harms no one. Although our existing laws have originated in the domain of brute force and in that of economic antitheses, they are not completely divorced from ethical concepts; hence among all civilised peoples the parents no longer possess the right to decide whether a new-born child shall live or die. But the parents can never lose the moral right, by the use of artificial means for the prevention of conception, to hinder an imaginary child from be-

coming actual. In this one and only case they have *jus vitæ ac necis*—the right of life and death. Without attempting a detailed consideration of the motives for a decision in individual cases, we may confidently affirm the right of every man and every woman, without renouncing bodily love, to prevent the procreation of children. This follows, in the last analysis, from the elementary right each one has to his own life, the right, that is to say, to regulate his existence according to his own will; and this right, as we have previously seen, is in many cases associated with his duty towards children already born, whose vital conditions ought not to be rendered worse by an increase in the family; or with his duty towards the hypothetical child whose procreation is now to be prevented, on the ground that he has no right to give life to a being predestined to sorrow, poverty, or ill-health. Whilst in certain cases there exists a duty to prevent conception, there exists in every case a right to such prevention.

The moral right to the voluntary limitation of offspring subsists, not merely as the outcome of physiological exigencies or of economic calculations, it subsists also as a matter of purely individual caprice. Let not the timid reader be alarmed, nor let him imagine that the word "caprice" is an error of the press, for the expression is deliberately chosen. The well-to-do mother who is impelled by her love of pleasure to refuse to suckle her child, and thus expose it to the dangers of breast-feeding by a perhaps unsuitable wet-nurse, or still worse to those of artificial feeding, must be regarded as a woman who shirks a social duty. On the other hand, in my opinion, we have no right whatever to reproach the

well-to-do woman who, on account of the same love of pleasure, refuses to bear children or refuses to bear any more. On the contrary, it is better that such frivolous and socially valueless women as these should leave no offspring, and that in this way the stock of those who are incapable of any serious work, of any deep feeling, and even of any genuine artistic contemplation, should perish out of the world. To tranquillise the anxious-minded, it may however be pointed out that in the great majority of cases the artificial limitation of the family will result from more serious motives, such as the fear of procreating diseased children, or from economic considerations, or from the dread lest by too great an abundance of children the vital energies of the parents may be hampered to such an extent that these will lose the possibility of enjoying the advantages of civilisation and may thus be compelled to renounce that joy of life to which every human being has an incontestable right.

Hitherto we have been considering from the viewpoint of private economy the question of man's voluntary and deliberate control of procreation; that is to say, we have studied the question subjectively. It is now necessary to treat the matter also, though briefly, in its politico-economical relationships, that is, objectively.

It is not necessary to discuss here the purely economic reasons, those that concern the world-economy, that may be alleged in favour of the use of preventive measures in sexual intercourse. Is there really any imminent danger of over-population, a danger which arouses in many minds alarming visions of widespread famine, and excites the nations to wars of extermination on behalf of the land regarded as

insufficient to supply food for so many mouths? We do not think so. The available means of subsistence will suffice for innumerable years yet to come for any possible increase in population. What we call over-population to-day, means as a rule no more than a disproportion in some particular country between the working powers of the population and the effective possibilities of work—between the demographic factor and the economic factor. It has to be remembered that an increase in the productive powers of the country concerned will usually adjust this disproportion, will restore the equilibrium between work and working powers, so that the "over-population" must in this case be regarded as an artificial and temporary distress which the application of human effort and human intelligence will allay. Even when over-population makes its appearance in a more obstinate form, the balance can nevertheless be adjusted without much difficulty by international effort, as we see to-day in the case of the emigration of the excess of the Italian population to such underpopulated lands as Argentina and Brazil. But these are matters of world economy. At the present time, and as far as the immediate future is concerned, the question with which we have here to deal has its chief importance within the more limited sphere of national economy. If we put on one side those ridiculous or impotent morality-fanatics who reject the use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse on moral grounds, completely ignoring economic considerations, the ethical rights of the individual human life, and even the irresistible laws of pathological hereditary transmission, the fiercest opponents of the use of means for the prevention of conception are to be found in

the camp of the militarists and the jingoes.[1] The use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse does not necessarily involve a restriction of the birth-rate, but may merely involve a deliberate adaptation of the birth-rate to the existing economic conditions. Doubtless, in the actual state of affairs, and in view of the vital conditions of the modern proletariat (which, though perhaps improving, are still wretched), the practice necessarily involves a decline in the

[1] It moves our wonder to observe the ignorant zeal with which the Italian newspaper press is apt to attack neomalthusianism. Unlike France, Italy does not suffer from a distressing lack of power to supply a sufficiency of human material for its own colonies and for the conduct of its own industries. The trouble is rather the reverse of this, inasmuch as Italy, being unable to find a subsistence for her rapidly increasing population, is in the strict sense of the term over-populated—a fact which accounts for the great stream of emigration. These emigrants, in view of their extreme poverty and their uncultured state, render the name of Italy a by-word in all the five great divisions of the world. Thus in other countries the name of Italian becomes synonymous with "rapscallion," as we learn from an examination of the depreciatory terms used to denote Italians in various lands: in Switzerland, *tsching*, or *cingali*; in Argentina, *gringos*; in the United States, *dagoes*; in France, *méthèques*, or *macaroni*. Any one who has once visited an Italian port, or who in a foreign city has seen how the swarm of Italian immigrants are despised by those among whom they live, or regarded with mingled wonder and commiseration, will find it hard to understand the motives of Italian jingoes in advising their co-nationals against the use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse—so long as the Italian people remains at its present economic and social level. For the rest, the point of view of Italian nationalists towards neomalthusianism is incomprehensible even from the purely political outlook of national expansion. One of the leaders of modern Italian nationalism, Enrico Corradini, must be credited as one of the first to recognise the two-edged character of Italian emigration. Inasmuch as this emigration takes place to countries not politically dependent upon Italy, it cannot fail to denationalise a notable proportion of the Italian born. While temporarily relieving the tension in the over-populated regions, it merely benefits them, as Corradini well puts it, in the same way as by death. (Enrico Corradini, *Il volere d'Italia*, p. 60. Perrella, Naples, 1911.)

birth-rate. Inasmuch as the defensive strength of a nation is built upon the number of its male inhabitants, and the increase in this number in its turn depends upon a high birth-rate (in so far as this does not involve a proportionately greater infant and child mortality), the militarists and the jingoes are right from their own point of view in regarding the neo-malthusians as enemies of their country.[1] In France,

[1] It may be mentioned that there are certain advocates of preventive intercourse who, in their ardent desire to render their doctrines acceptable to those who have hitherto been its fiercest opponents, endeavour to convert even the militarists. In Holland, for example, Rutgers contends that a decline in the birth-rate does not necessarily involve a diminution in the effective strength of the army, so that the militarists might regard such a decline with a favourable eye. In support of this assertion Rutgers, referring to the year 1897, maintains that in France, where the birth-rate is so low, 67% of all males born attain the age of twenty, whereas in other countries, which exhibit a more rapid increase in population, the percentage of males born who attain the age of twenty is much lower than this; in Belgium, 65%; in Italy, 56%; in Germany, 54%; in Russia, 49% (*loc cit.*, p. 141). Rutgers has right on his side when he asserts that a limitation in the number of children, providing no other disturbing factors come into play, will lead to racial improvement, and thus to higher military capacity of the average individual. But none the less it remains true that a larger population can furnish more soldiers than a smaller population, even though in the former the average individual efficiency may be less, and the number of those unfit for military service larger. The military weakness of Holland, for example, in comparison with France, does not result from the fact that in the former country there is a less rapid increase in population, since the actual conditions are the reverse of this; the difference depends simply upon the fact that Holland as a whole has a much smaller population than France. Conversely, France, with its stationary population, is passing into a condition of hopeless inferiority, from the military point of view, to Germany, where the population increases every year by about one million inhabitants. But in truth the arguments in favour of the use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse are altogether independent of military considerations, and have to do with private economic conditions and with the ethical sentiment of responsibility towards the offspring.

in every *café chantant*, we hear plaintive appeals to the women of the country to provide a larger supply of soldiers than they are doing at the present time. The author frankly admits that he has little sympathy with a theory which regards the population question simply as a matter of the provision of more human beings as food for powder.[1] On the contrary, he regards the pacific state of mind, which (largely in consequence of conscious procreation as practised in France of recent years) is becoming ever more widely diffused, as a civilising factor of enormously greater value than the adding of a few new divisions to the army such as may result from a rapid increase in the population. We have, however, to recognise frankly that the colonial expansion of a people is definitely counteracted by a stationary, and still more by a declining birth-rate. Had the English in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and first half of the eighteenth century restricted their birth-rate as do the modern French,

[1] The great Condé, when his army had suffered heavy losses in battle, exclaimed, "One night of Paris will repair all that." Holbach's just criticism of this was that it was based upon a false calculation, for "one night of Paris does not provide the State with men ready made; of ten children born, only one will attain the age of thirty." (Baron d'Holbach, *Système social*, vol. ii. p. 132. Niogret, Paris, 1882.)—As an example of the grossly cynical attitude to which militarists may attain in their consideration of the reproductive problem, it may suffice to quote the verses of the *emigré* Chevalier de Boufflers, entitled *Le bon avis:*

> "Que l'ennemi, que la bergère
> Soient tour à tour serrés de près!
> Eh! mes amis, peut-on mieux faire,
> Quand on a dépeuplé la Terre,
> Que de la repeupler après?"

(Stanislas de Boufflers, *Contes en prose et contes en vers*, *loc. cit.*, p. 257.)

or even to the extent customary in England to-day, they would never have created their wide-reaching empire, nor impressed throughout the world the English type of civilisation and the English tongue; in similar circumstances, the eighteenth century Dutch would have failed to people South Africa; in similar circumstances, the Italians would be unable to devote their industry and their intelligence to the development of the natural resources of South America. There is another case in which the effects of a deliberate restriction of births may be disastrous, that is where, in a town or any region, there are inhabitants of two or more distinct races, whose civilisation is not merely diverse in character, but stands at different levels; we have such a case, for example, in Istria and in Trieste, where the Italians are in competition with the Croats and with the Slovines respectively. Here the prevention of conception applied on a large scale is a crime not simply against nationality, but even against civilisation, at any rate in a historical epoch in which the aristocratic rule of a superior nationality has, owing to the triumph of democracy, given place to the dominion of a more numerous nationality of inferior type—a dominion based on universal suffrage. For in such cases as those under consideration the individual's action in the matter of procreation is determined by private economic considerations, which may and do lead to a course of action altogether opposed to the linguistic and ethnical interests of the race to which the individual belongs.

The degree to which the artificial limitation of the family must be regarded as an indication of a higher level of civilisation and of increased general pros-

perity, is known to all who have made a special study of the question. In France, which has led the way in the practical application of preventive methods in sexual intercourse, we find that the refinement of the æsthetic life and of good taste has reached the highest degree yet known. The two-children-system which prevails in France may work prejudice to the military strength of the country. This system may also involve peril from a purely nationalist point of view, inasmuch as it reduces a large proportion of the industry and commerce of the country to dependence upon the fluctuating possibilities of immigration—to dependence, that is to say, upon the good will of Italian, Spanish, and Belgian operatives, and upon the degree to which in their own countries these are subjected to economic pressure and forced to expatriate themselves. On the other hand, it is an incontestable fact that to this system France owes her inexhaustible prosperity, and, more especially, her relatively high standard of life and the general diffusion of private wealth.[1] In the last essay published before his death, Ludwig Gumplowicz, writing in praise of the Frenchwoman, referred to her as one "comparatively emancipated from subjection to the male. Having begun to reflect about her

[1] It is true that France also exhibits grave social defects. For example, in that country the mortality among the new-born is alarmingly high; and it is a well-known fact that certain districts, especially in the north, are ravaged by alcoholism and syphilis. But it would be absurd to blame for these things the general practice of preventive intercourse. As regards the effects of alcoholism and syphilis, it would be more reasonable to express the hope that preventive intercourse may become still more general. The syphilitic and the alcoholic have no right to procreate children and thus to perpetuate a type predestined to misery and destruction.

own position, she has refused to accept any longer the rôle of a mere procreative machine, and to renounce her own personal experience of the joys of life in favour of the problematic happiness of maternity."[1] In all the countries of the civilised world, the educated classes make far more use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse than the working classes, who usually procreate children blindly and without consideration. In the United States of America, preventive intercourse has found its most ardent advocates in those States in which the proletariat has attained an especially high standard of life. In Germany a well-known economist, Julius Wolf, describes the fall of the birth-rate in Germany and elsewhere as the outcome of "the rationalisation of the masses." In his view, the spread of civilised and progressive ideas among the people has induced a psychological change, in consequence of which there is coming into existence an "economic sense" determining both sexes to take practical measures to diminish the number of their offspring.[2]

Friedrich Naumann, a German politician of advanced views, is of opinion that the decline in the birth-rate in Germany is due to the increase in the number of the "regulated lives."[3] The majority of men are now inclined to procreate only so many children as they deliberately desire to have, and to minimise for these children as far as possible the

[1] Ludwig Gumplowicz, "Frankreich's Sorge" ("The Cares of France"), *Monatsschrift für Soziologie.* Vol. i., November and December, 1909.

[2] Julius Wolf, *Der Geburtenrückgang, Die Rationalisierung des Sexuallebens in unserer Zeit.* Fischer, Jena, 1912.

[3] *Das Neue Deutschland*, vol. i., No. 3, p. 30. Berlin, Oct. 19th, 1912.

risks of life. Hence, in his view, the practice of preventive intercourse may be regarded as a phenomenon associated with a higher civilisation, of which it is at once effect and cause.

Certain men of science, among whom must be numbered Achille Loria, have recommended as a means for the restriction of an unduly high birth-rate, in place of the use of direct means for the prevention of conception to which they are opposed, that marriage should be postponed to as late an age as possible.[1]

The objections to this proposal are numerous, and I think decisive. The average age at marriage is already very high in all countries. It is further well known to all those who have made a statistical study of the question, that among the upper classes in especial the average age at marriage is still increasing, though slowly.[2] The youthful mother who marries as it were straight from school is now rarely encountered. In Italy, among women of the older generation, among the mothers, that is to say, of daughters who are now themselves ripe for marriage, we still find a considerable number who were married at fifteen

[1] *Il problema della procreazione, Inchiesta sul neomalthusianismo.* ("The Problem of Procreation, An Inquiry into Neomalthusianism.") Alfonso de Pietri-Tonelli, Casa ed Avanguardia, p. 104. Milan, 1911.

[2] We see this in certain countries, such as England, Russia, and France, in the absence of any increase of the average age at marriage of the whole community. In other countries, as in Italy, the average age at marriage seems to be diminishing. It has to be noted that in Italy, owing to extensive emigration and to the growth of urban life, in the large towns (where the average wealth is greater) the proportion of unmarried men and women is higher than in small towns and in the country districts. As in other countries, so also in Italy, it may be noted that even though the general marriage rate may increase, that of the upper classes undergoes a slow progressive diminution.

or sixteen and had their first child only a year later. But the daughters of these same mothers think that they marry too soon if they marry before they are twenty, and the average age at marriage of Italian women is now as high as twenty-five years. A similar development, but far more accentuated, is seen in the male sex. Husbands of an age between twenty and twenty-five are practically unknown among the well-to-do classes. In the United States of America, marriage is customary at a very early age, so that the combined ages of husband and wife may often not exceed thirty-four years. This may be attributed, as Achille Loria so clearly shows, to the great abundance in that country of unappropriated land, for as the appropriation of land proceeds a rise in the average age at marriage follows as an inevitable sequel.[1]

The consequences of a further increase in the age at marriage would consist in a complex of socially undesirable phenomena, exercising a disastrous influence upon the erotic and intellectual relationships of mankind and undermining the basis of marriage.

1. The average male is sexually mature at the age of fifteen, and is sexually active for ten years before he attains the customary age of marriage. Further to retard his marriage would favour the diffusion of brothels and the seduction of girls belonging to the poorer social classes. In a word, if we were to prolong the pre-conjugal sexual life of the male we should increase the dangers to which that life exposes his health, and we should also increase the masculine

[1] Ernst Schultze, "Die Ehescheidungsfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten" ("The Divorce Problem in the United States of America"). *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Anno xi., Fasc. 4, p. 227 (1908).

exploitation of a particular section of the feminine world. There would result also an increase in the number of illegitimate children, since these commonly vary in abundance in direct ratio with the average age at marriage.

2. Should the fathers of the coming generation consist chiefly of men entering upon marriage even later than is customary to-day, there would result, partly on account simply of their greater age, and partly owing to the greater prevalence among them of venereal diseases, the procreation of comparatively sickly and enfeebled offspring.

3. A further consequence would be a decline in the value of the intellectual relationships between father and children. Even to-day between the outlook of the father and that of children there is a great gulf fixed. Each generation speaks a different language from the previous one, whereby mutual understanding between the coming and the passing generations is rendered difficult or even impossible, so that there is no real friendship between the two, nor anything more intimate than the association based upon mere blood-relationship. It is evident that a further increase in the difference in age between parents and children could not fail to widen the chasm by which they are already separated.

4. Further, by deferring the age at marriage, we should throw increasing difficulties in the way of the children's education, which even to-day leaves much to be desired, for various reasons, and more especially on account of the father's professional occupations, which commonly keep him much away from his house, while he is apt to pass even his leisure hours elsewhere than in the bosom of his family. For, as

a result of the proposed change, the father would often be altogether removed by death while the children were so young as still to require for many years his material help and the guidance of his experience.

5. Finally, the measure thus recommended for the prevention of large families would unquestionably lead to a notable increase in the proportion of unhappy marriages. The men whose marriage had been thus deferred would not marry women of their own age, but, unless they put aside all thought of marriage, would choose, as they now choose, young women for their wives. This they would do, in part owing to the disabilities that the spinster condition would inevitably have entailed upon the women of their own age; and in part owing to the universal masculine tendency to desire the possession of a woman exhibiting the highest attainable degree of purity and beauty. This tendency, which manifests itself in a thousand forms, displays itself with especial vigour in the domain of prostitution. For example, we are told by competent authorities that in Paris, if child prostitution has now become rare, this is not owing to any merit on the part of men, for these demand immaturity to such an extent as to lead a certain number of grown women to masquerade on the boulevards dressed and made up as young girls. But, as far as marriage is concerned,[1] the desire of elderly men for young women has an additional reason, which is to be found in the fact that upon an ageing man association with a young woman exercises a vitalising influence, physio-

[1] Maurice Talmeyr, *La Fin d'une Société*, p. 213.

logically as well as psychologically. Certain modern physicians hold,[1] as did those of antiquity, that the atmosphere impregnated with the exhalations from a young and vigorous body is an efficacious remedy against marasmus and anæmia. In former days it was recommended to old men as a cure for the disabilities of old age that they should sleep with young girls or even with young men.[2] It is also asserted that blunted sexual sensibilities may be revived by the touch of youthful bodies.[3]

The young wives of these men, on the other hand, owing to the comparatively advanced age of their husbands, would find in them neither the physiological freshness of the lover nor the psychological freshness of the comrade which they have every right to expect in marriage. Hence will arise in many wives a sentiment of hatred towards their husbands, which would go so far in many cases as to make the wife long for her husband's death.[4] There would

[1] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Naturgesetze der Liebe*, p. 200. Pulvermacher, Berlin, 1912. Playful references to the Shunamitic principle are made by the hero and heroine of Zola's *Le Docteur Pascal.*

[2] P. T. G. Cabanis, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* ("Relationships between Mind and Body in Man"), vol. ii. pp. 420 *et seq.* Paris, Anno xiii. (1805), 2nd edition. References to the same phenomenon will be found in authors of the present day. *Cf.* Léon Frapié, *L'institutrice de Province*, p. 108. Fayard, Paris.

[3] See, for example, the short story by Giambattista Casti, "Le due sunamitidi," in his *Novelle Galanti*, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 43 and 47.

[4] Here may aptly be quoted some stanzas by the celebrated Scottish poet, Robert Burns, entitled, "What can a Young Lassie."

"What can a young lassie, what shall a young lassie,
What can a young lassie do wi' an auld man?
Bad luck on the penny that tempted my minnie
To sell her poor Jenny for siller and lan'!
. . . . . .

result for light-minded women, in view of their frequent contact with other men, much younger than their husbands, and therefore excelling these in physical and intellectual attractions, allurements to almost pardonable adultery. The young wife of an ageing husband is the natural prey of the enterprising woman-hunter. Even men whose moral code is much above the average level, who would have scruples about seducing a woman happily married to a man of her own age, are little disturbed in conscience when the case is that of a young woman married to an elderly man.

Many persons who recognise the dangers of large families, recommend that these dangers should be avoided by the exercise of chastity in marriage. Those, they say, who already have as many children as they can afford, or who for some other reason desire no more children or none at all, should abstain from sexual indulgence. According to these theorists, we should exclude a precious element from human life for reasons that are really foreign to the matter. Many persons in whom the sexual impulse is not strongly developed—including certainly a considerable proportion of women to whom sexual intercourse gives no pleasure or is positively painful—would be quite indifferent to this deprivation. To the majority of married persons of both sexes, however, marriage

---

"He hums and he hankers, he frets and he cankers,
I never can please him, do a' that I can;
He's peevish and jealous of a' the young fellows;
Oh, dool on the day I met wi' an auld man!

"My auld auntie Katie upon me takes pity,
I'll do my endeavour to follow her plan;
I'll cross him, and wrack him, until I heart-break him,
And then his auld brass will buy me a new pan."

involves a habituation to the sexual life of which custom has created an urgent need. In these, notwithstanding a certain incontestable tendency to satiety dependent upon our latent polygamous tendencies, the sexual impulse, when they are living in intimate association without giving that impulse free rein, would be an ever-renewed source of excitement and temptation. For such persons as these, counsels as to sexual abstinence will appear not only impertinent, but utopian.

Yet other considerations have to be taken into account.

In its origin, physical sexual love is of value only as a means for the attainment of one particular end—the reproduction of the species. Nor can it be considered altogether without reference to this end. Even to-day, by orthodox Christians of whatever confession, and by libertines who have turned moral with the whitening of their hair, sexual intercourse is considered justifiable only in relation to this particular end. But in the progress of the centuries, sexual love has slowly undergone a most varied evolution, and *pari passu* with the gradual emancipation of man from the servitude of nature, that love has been transformed from a simple psycho-physical phenomenon characteristic of the animal kingdom into one which, while retaining unaltered its formal mechanism, has become an end in itself. The concept *love* has surpassed, has gained pre-eminence over, the concept *generation*. To-day we need to have the courage of our opinions, and to admit frankly that, in almost the entire human race, sexual love is desired not as a rule on account of its results in the production of offspring, but simply for the ecstasy which accom-

panies the sexual act.[1] We may incorporate this idea in the formula, love for love's sake, subject, of course, to the ethical restrictions discussed in the first chapter of Part I. It is essential that sexual love should so far be emancipated from the idea of possible offspring as to involve the recognition of the right to sexual intercourse, although for various reasons—it may be of an economic order, or it may be as the outcome of mere caprice—there is no intention whatever to procreate a child. The sexual act, as the complement and the crown of the psychological demands of sex, may not itself possess an "ideal" character; but considered in its essence, and in the light of the sensual intoxication associated with it, it affords one of the few moments of intense pleasure and pure joy known to us in this poor life of ours. Thus, eroticism has a high energising value.[2] The

[1] This fact has of late found recognition even in Puritan England. Compare the views of Edward Carpenter in his *Love's Coming of Age*. George Allen & Co., Ltd., London.

[2] Worth quoting in this connection are the epicurean verses of the classical German poet Wieland, which form part of his erotic poem, "Gandolin oder Liebe um Liebe" ("Gandolin or Love for Love's Sake"):

> . . . Brüder und Schwestern, die Hand an's Kinn,
> Und fragt euch: ist es nicht die Liebe,
> Der ihr in dieser Zeitlichkeit
> Die besten Minuten schuldig seyd?
> Und floss mit unter auch manche Trübe,
> Seyd billig! Zieht mir von der Liebe
> Das alles was nicht Liebe ist
> Rein ab, und dann sprecht was ihr wisst!

[Brothers and sisters, reflect, and ask yourselves: in this life of ours, is it not love to which you owe the best minutes you have known? Even though through love much sorrow has come to you, take it not amiss! Take away from love all that is not love, and then tell me what you know.] C. M. Wieland, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. xxxix., p. 7. F. A. Schrämbl, Vienna, 1802.

right to the practice of preventive intercourse is thus seen to be the logical consequence of the idea that sexual love is justified as an end in itself.

The moral postulate that sexual relationships are never to be undertaken except as means to an end, and that even in the supreme moment of the sexual act we should never lose sight of the lofty aim of procreation, involves to the reflective mind a note of indelicacy and immorality. The wife who, when her husband approaches her, should put to him the question, "Do you wish to procreate with me or only to sin with me?" is herself essentially impure—however good a Christian. If she really loves her husband, she cannot possibly regard intercourse with him as a sinful act, while if she does not love him, she ought not to be willing to "procreate" with him. There is an additional consideration which militates strongly against the teleological (and theological) view of the sexual act. The procreation of a healthy child presupposes complete sensual abandonment; in other words, that its progenitors should have their minds altogether undisturbed by consideration of so-called moral ends and teleological refinements.

Yet it is necessary to think about the child, not during the act, but before it. We should think of the child, not as an end whose pursuit may moralise an otherwise immoral act, but simply as a possible consequence of the act. As has already been said, it is despicable to bring children into the world without having provided guarantees for their loving reception, and without securing the probability that they will have a tolerable existence. This consideration altogether outweighs that of the possible diminution of pleasure by the use of preventive measures. No

father has the right, in pursuit of increased sexual pleasure, to procreate children for whom he will be unable to provide bread. The brief pleasure will be succeeded by long-enduring pain.

The use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse has also a value not to be under-estimated from the outlook of the criminal jurist.[1] Such measures are preventive in another sense of the word, for they prevent indirectly the commission of the punishable offences of abortion and infanticide; and though infanticide is practically confined to the case of illegitimate children, abortion is so widely practised to-day by married people of all social classes, and is justified by so many excuses, that, as far as may be, the legal authorities and the police shut their eyes to the commission of the offence.

The prevention of conception belongs to the domain neither of morals nor of economics; the question is rather one of a purely technical and mechanical nature. Its problems cannot be solved on the theoretical plane, but only in practice. In other words, what we have to do is to discover the best possible methods of preventive sexual intercourse, and how best to preserve the supremacy of the actual human being over the imaginary one (theoretically possible as the outcome of every procreative act) by means more effective and less vulgar than those at present at our disposal.[2] It is for the younger

[1] See the admirable essay by Oda Lerda Olberg, "Über den juristischen Schutz des keimenden Lebens" ("The Legal Protection of the Unborn Life"), *Neue Generation*, vol. iv., No. 6 (1908).

[2] In Italy, Luigi Maria Bossi, professor of gynecology at the University of Genoa, has for several years past been fulminating against the use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse, which he regards

workers in this latter field to strive for the extension of our physiological and psychological knowledge, which at present does not suffice to furnish us with the means for the perfect application of preventive methods of sexual intercourse.[1]

To sum up, civilised man has a right to himself. This right involves three others: to have offspring, to limit their number, to refuse to have any. At the present day, our social laws forbid an unmarried woman to procreate children; the bachelor is allowed not to have any. No sound reason can be alleged for refusing to extend this right to have no children to married persons as well. We need have no fear that the granting of such a right will result in the depopulation of the world; the profound and intense love for children, felt especially by men of high moral excellence, may be trusted to provide against this danger. Preventive intercourse is not presented as the one and only solution of the problem of procreation, nor is its practice advised as a rule valid for all times, all social classes, all nations, and every individual. Yet it may be unhesitatingly affirmed that consciously regulated sexual

as highly injurious to the health of both sexes.—L. M. Bossi, "La legge sul divorzio considerata dal lato ginecologico" ("The Law of Divorce in its Gynecological Aspects"). Bulletin of the Royal Academy of Medicine of Genoa, Anno xviii. No. 3. Also "La donna e la questione sessuale nella moderna civiltà" ("Woman and the Sexual Question in Modern Civilisation"), inaugural address 1910-11, University of Genoa. *Ginecologia moderna*, vol. iii. fasc. 9, 1910.

[1] One of my own friends has procreated every one of his five children —of whom three are still alive, and whom he would not lose for all the world—while using a different preventive measure. We have, then, here a wide field for discoveries and improvements. This subject, however, lies without the immediate domain of the social sciences, and falls within the province of medicine.

intercourse possesses complete ethical justification.[1] It is perfectly true that the use of methods for the prevention of conception is "unnatural," but it is only unnatural in the sense in which all the acquirements of civilisation in the domain of hygiene are unnatural—as unnatural, for instance, as an operation for the removal of a tumour, which, if left to run its course, would bring about premature death. Our race has already learned to control a large number

[1] "To-day children are born to parents who do not desire to have them, who procreate them only through ignorance, and to whom children come as the price they unwillingly have to pay for a past pleasure. These undesired children are, as it were, the children of no one, and in the future such children will not be born. Surely it will be better for society that this should be the case." (Giuseppe Prezzolini, "La questione del neomalthusianismo," *La Voce*, Anno II., No. 36, 1910.) It may further be noted that neomalthusianism is the direct outcome of monogamy, for monogamy does not merely put an end to the factor of sexual selection of the males, but in addition, with its peculiar morality of family life and with the ethical postulates it imposes in relation to the offspring, it tends to restrict the size of the family, by the use of all possible kinds of preventive measures. (On this matter consult the communication made by Christian von Ehrenfels to the Fourth International Congress of Philosophy held at Bologna, in the year 1911, entitled "Kulturelle und konstitutive Bewegung der Monogamen," p. 11.) In Italy of late years, among those able to speak with authority, a number of able men have ventured to express views favourable to neomalthusianism. Dr. Giulio Casalini, a deputy of Turin, a man who speaks with a strong sense of responsibility, has declared that if we weigh in the balance the two evils, those associated with excessively large families and those dependent upon the use of preventive methods, it is impossible to doubt that the evils of large families are the greater. (*L'igiene sessuale*, p. 33. Podrecca e Galantara, Rome, 1911.) Yet more important is the declaration of the principal Medical Officer of the city of Turin. In an official publication he writes that it is impossible to blame those who, having regard to the future of their children, and anxious to see them rise in the social scale, use means to limit the size of their families. (F. Abba, *Città di Torino, Progressi igienici, sanatari e demografici*, p. 98. Vassallo, Turin, 1906.)

of natural forces, and we cannot consistently censure those whose aim it is to withdraw the reproductive act from the domain of blind chance and to subject it as far as may be to the conscious will of its participants. Deliberate and conscious procreation signifies a victory of the human reason over the irrationality of the brute.

CHAPTER IV.

CERTAIN SHOALS IN THE WATERS OF MARRIED LIFE—INTELLECTUAL CULTIVATION IN WOMAN AND ITS LIMITS.

Conflict between Profession and Motherhood—Conflict between Intellectual Cultivation and Maternal Duties—Conflict between the Woman as Mother and the Woman as Wife—Concentration of the Mother on the Child—Fatherhood and Motherhood in their Psycho-physiological Relationships to the Child—Motherhood as an Episode in Woman's Life—Superfluous Maternal Occupations—Necessity for the Care of Household and Children—Simplification of these Problems through the Collaboration of the Husband—Woman at the Parting of the Ways, where she has to choose between Husband and Child.

A WOMAN can give no higher praise to her husband than to say that he has never failed to provide help and encouragement in the development of her natural gifts,[1] and that he has been by her side, not only in the troubles of child-bearing—a companionship rare enough, as every one knows—but to aid her, whenever requisite, in the cultivation of her intelligence. The rarity of the instances in which husbands thus encourage the mental development of their wives, and even of those in which they fail to put obstacles in the way of their wives' aspirations in this direction, is due to the general prevalence among the middle

[1] This, for example, is what Adelheid Popp tells us of her husband in her memoirs, *Die Jugendgeschichte einer Arbeiterin* ("The Autobiography of a Working Woman"), third edition, p. 79. (English translation, 1912.)

class of every country in the world of a peculiar conception of the duties of the married woman as housewife and mother. Speaking generally, men regard feminine culture with a certain disfavour, so that they are apt to prefer a woman who, although a good housewife, is intellectually a little goose, to a cultivated woman, even though the latter too has all the domestic virtues. In eighteenth-century Naples it was considered dangerous to teach women to read and write, the fear being that this would give them more liberty than was good for them. The talent of a Genovesi was required to demonstrate, from the example of the women of France and Holland, the practical utility of feminine instruction, and the lack of any danger therein to morality.[1] With very rare exceptions, the intellectual development of the wife in certain situations which we shall now consider in detail, is rendered impossible by the prepotent egoism of the husband.

1. The first of these situations is that in which independent activities on the part of the wife would involve more work for the husband, forcing him to undertake a share of the domestic duties, in order to leave the woman free for intellectual and social work. This will be obstinately resisted by the husband even when he is altogether inferior in capacity to his wife, and when the proposed new division of labour would entail social and even economic advantages for the family as a whole.

2. The second case is that in which the wife's inclinations are towards politics and public life, and

[1] Antonio Genovesi, *Lezioni di commercio ossia di economia civile* ("Lessons in Commerce or Civil Economy"), vol. i. pp. 440 *et seq.* Milan, 1820.

her views on these questions differ from those of her husband. A man will sometimes forgive his wife for public activities carried on by his own side; but he can hardly endure that she should have political views different from his own, at any rate he cannot endure the open expression of such views. The most modern of men, if he consents that his wife should take a part, even restricted, in public life, will not be easy if she advocates views that differ in any respect from his own. The public advertisement of such differences would be regarded by him as a scandal, and would probably wreck the family life. In the history of modern party politics, we find numerous instances in which wives have played a prominent part, and have played it with force, knowledge, and skill, in the advocacy of the husband's political tendencies. On the other hand, cases are frequent enough in which sons have shaken off the political views of the family, and have actively worked on behalf of political tendencies diametrically opposed to those of their fathers—though it must be admitted that in such a case the father is apt to consider the son's action in the light of a personal offence. But as far as I know, we cannot find a single example in which the wife has completely discarded the political ideas of the husband and has publicly advocated those of some opposed tendency, without a complete rupture of conjugal relationships. We may infer from these facts that the dependence of the wife upon the husband is far more complete than the dependence of the son upon the father. This consideration forces upon our attention one of the gravest difficulties facing the honest and unrestricted application of women's right to the suffrage. Will the husband, we

have to ask ourselves, permit his wife to give practical effect in this matter to views divergent from his own; will he permit the like liberty to his unmarried daughters?

3. The third case is that in which the special development of the wife's faculties is in the same field as that in which the husband is engaged in his life-work, and the wife exhibits more ability than the husband. The man will gladly accept his wife's support and assistance in his professional occupation. The medical man will find something for his wife to do as nurse or dispenser; the protestant clergyman will on occasions entrust to his wife the care of souls; the man of science will permit his wife to perform for him all kinds of preparatory work, will entrust to her the correction of his proofs or the preparation of indexes and tables of contents. Sometimes he will agree to her undertaking more advanced and more independent work in his own specialty, above all if this course should prove lucrative. Medical practitioners of different sexes may be associated in marriage; the actor and the actress may be husband and wife. But in such cases it is always presupposed that the wife's endowments must not be so great as to put into the shade those of the husband, as to undermine his social authority and professional value. A man cannot endure to be eclipsed by his wife in his own chosen field. A typical recent example is that of the Viennese tenor who, jealous of the popularity of his wife, also a celebrated singer, paid a number of persons to attend the Opera in order to hiss her off the stage.

Thus masculine egoism imposes limits in many cases to the possibility of women's intellectual development.

In all social classes, the highest not excepted, intellectual women are scarce even to-day. Some women have too much to do; others have too little; and the members of a third section pass their time in the unwholesome environment of luxury and amusement, in all kinds of frivolity and worldly trivialities. It is true that in certain circles and in certain countries women exhibit a veritable mania for culture. But this applies to marriageable women and not to those already married. Even in the case of the former, higher education is apt to serve only as a means to an end, to enable them to attain more readily to marriage. Once they find themselves in this haven, they throw away their hard-gained intellectuality as so much useless lumber. Intellectual women—by which term I do not mean to refer merely to the bluestocking nor to the wealthy woman who coquets with knowledge in her odd moments, but to the woman with a true breadth of view and a sound understanding of the great problems of mankind—are to-day but rarely encountered. This scarcity is by no means to be explained by the suggestion that science is beyond the capacity of the feminine brain, and still less can it be affirmed, as certain male pedants contend, that higher education is destructive to womanliness and renders women incapable of fulfilling their true mission in life. The sources of the trouble lie far deeper than this. Let us endeavour to elucidate them, or at least to illuminate the path to their discovery.

Woman is far from being so different from man as the reactionaries and the apologists of our established order would have us believe. Yet it cannot be denied that women must necessarily approach

certain questions in a manner altogether different from men. For example, the urgent problem of how any professional occupation is to be harmonised with the claims of parenthood, must of necessity receive a different solution in man's case and in woman's, above all when approached from the medical point of view. But from a purely educational standpoint, the divergence is not apparent, for man and woman, father and mother alike, have, or should have, to face the same dilemma; for both have parental duties to fulfil; and for both, these are sometimes hard to harmonise with the claims of professional life. Nevertheless, it is harder for the woman to decide this problem, and to reconcile these conflicting claims: in part owing to the unwholesome economic order in which we live; in part owing to the obstacles which the married woman who desires to give due weight to the claims of the intellectual life commonly encounters from her husband; and in part owing to a number of psycho-physical considerations peculiar to her sex, and, above all, to the claims which the immature child makes upon its mother.[1] It follows from these considerations that it is far harder for the intellectual woman than it is for the man of corresponding abilities to reconcile these conflicting claims without suffering in health, intelligence, or affections, or it may be in all of these ways at once. Is it then surprising that we should find intellectual women to be scarce, in view of the unceasing desertions from their ranks dependent on the causes here analysed?

[1] Marianne Weber contends that a woman who has to work for her living is necessarily unfitted for the fulfilment of her maternal duties. (*Beruf und Ehe* ["Occupation and Marriage"], Schönberg. Berlin, 1906.)

The conflict between professional occupation and motherhood, which we have here been able to consider but sketchily, is not the only dilemma which the intellectual married woman has to face. A yet commoner and yet more cruel dilemma is the one between her love for her husband and her love for her child.

It is reported of the Emperor Nero that he once took to his bed for some days, complaining of severe abdominal pains, and playing the whole comedy of childbirth. Rosa Mayreder has devoted several pages of her admirable work upon the sexual question to a description of the bi-sexual characteristics manifest in not a few members of our race.[1] I myself, every time my wife has given birth to a child, have experienced a strong yearning to be able to give suck to the infant, a desire almost amounting to jealousy, and of an intensity bordering upon physical pain. This feeling was associated with a sense of man's intolerable inferiority to woman.

These sentiments are not symptoms of weakness, of decadence, of lack of virility. The writer will not be considered by those who know him to belong to

[1] Rosa Mayreder, *Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit* ("A Survey of the Woman Problem"), 2nd edition, Jena and Leipzig, 1907, Diederich, pp. 266 *et seq.*, English translation, 1913. The absolute male, the man who is truly the counterpart of woman, will not arise so long as man possesses rudimentary mammæ and a uterus masculinus. Other writers who discuss the intimate intermingling of masculine and feminine characteristics are: Leo Berg, *Geschlechter* ("The Sexes"), published in the collection "Kulturprobleme," Berlin, 1906, Hüpeden and Maerzyn; Magnus Hirschfeld, "Ursachen und Wesen des Uranismus" ("Causes and Nature of Homosexuality") in the *Jahrbücher für Sexuellen Zwischenstufen* ("Annual for Sexual Intermediate Stages"), I., p. 128, 1903; Lily Braun, *Die Frauenfrage* ("The Women's Question"), *loc. cit*, p. 365.

one of the effeminate types. A careful analysis of such phenomena as these will show that, just as in every woman there exists from time to time, or permanently, a regret that she was not born a man, so also men frequently experience regret that they are not women. Inasmuch as man is, socially speaking, more highly esteemed than woman, many men conceal these longings as carefully as they would conceal dishonour, and are apt to do their best to suppress all such desires. Yet there exists in members of both sexes, not simply the yearning for mutual possession, but also the desire for the interchange of their respective sexual peculiarities.

From the psychical point of view the man also is united to his offspring by intimate bonds.[1] In woman's case, indeed, her life and her essence are revolutionised by motherhood, as we see above all during the months that follow the birth of the child. At this period the mother is always with the child, completely absorbed in its welfare, while the husband occupies only the second rank. Before this time it was the husband who received all her attentions, now these are given to the child. Many men do not know what to make of this sudden transformation in the affective life of their wives, its motives are altogether beyond their powers of understanding.[2] Hence has arisen the legend that what woman seeks in marriage is not love, but motherhood. She loves a man, we

[1] *Cf.* page 233.

[2] The sorrows of a young father who finds himself replaced in this way in his wife's affections after the birth of their child are described with psychological truth, though perhaps in rather too vivid colours, in the problem-novel, by Verus, *Einer für Viele. Aus dem Tagebuch eines Mannes*, pp. 14 *et seq.*, 3rd edition. Seemann, Leipzig, 1903.

are told, not for his own sake, but simply as the only available means for the gratification of the feminine instinct of motherhood.

Man is further confirmed in this erroneous view by the repellent, or at least less expansive, attitude in sexual matters of the young mother, wholly immersed for the time being in the worship of her infant. But the loss of interest in the husband and the absorption in the child both arise from the same purely physical cause. Woman is physiologically devoted to the child in this stage of its career by the function of lactation. During the period of lactation the mother preponderates over the wife. Her whole body tends to be unconsciously drawn towards the child and away from the husband, not away from him as father of the child, whom precisely as such she will load with tenderness, but from the husband as lover. As the latter, she instinctively resists his advances lest these should result in the disturbance of the normal continuity of motherhood by a renewed pregnancy whereby the milk upon which the infant's life depends would be dried up at the source.

In the cycle of the normal woman's life, however, maternity is no more than an episode, recurring at more or less frequent intervals. It does not dominate a woman's existence to such an extent that this existence must be identified with maternity. The female has natural sexual needs just as much as the male. The male is apt to insist that his own unbridled sexuality before and during marriage is the necessary outcome of his sexual needs; but he goes on to forbid to women—at any rate to those of his own class and within his own circle—an unbridled sexuality similar to his own, on the pretext that in

them sexual needs are non-existent, or if existent have an intensity enormously inferior to those of men. At the basis of this duplex sexual morality, as it has been termed, there exists no justificatory basis of duplexity of fact; we have rather to do, in the case of the male, with a hypertrophy in the demands of the sexual impulse, which are exaggerated often to a degree bordering upon degeneration, while in the female there is a systematic repression of the sexual impulse. Thus, in both cases alike, there is an abnormal cultivation, though in opposite directions, of the instincts of sex. For women, as well as for men, sexual love is an end in itself, and must not be regarded merely as a means to motherhood. A woman feels by turns the physiological need for the man and that for the child. It is not the desire for children, not "philoprogenitiveness," which explains either the self-surrender of unmarried girls to their lovers, or the adultery of wives who already have a number of children.

Education and convention—acting primarily in the interest of the sexual egoism of the male, who wished to keep the female tied to the cradle in order to preserve the world and its joys for his own sex alone[1]—have effected a development of the wife's concentration on her child, physiologically grounded as that concentration is, to a degree beyond what is either necessary or natural. In the ethical conceptions of everyday life, "maternal love" plays too great a part. On account of her desire for a child, everything is

[1] The Dutch poet Multatuli, in a witty essay in anecdotal form which appears in his *Geschiedenissen van Gezag* (No. 8), attributes the subordinate position of woman to a different cause, contending that man was clever enough to convince woman by suggestion that knowledge, intelligence, and curiosity were in her sinful.

pardoned to a woman, whether it be that she gives herself, in marriage, to an unloved man, for money and position, or whether she gives herself, outside marriage, and from uncontrolled sensuality, to the first man who comes along. She need only long for a child, or even, without having this in mind, she need only love the child when it arrives, and in accordance with the dominant modern tendency all things will be forgiven her. In the literature which embodies this tendency, an aureole is placed on the head of the woman who cuts herself loose from the man whom she has chosen to be the father of her child, having determined from the first not to marry him, but to live freely and independently with her own child, for whom she has voluntarily chosen illegitimacy.[1] Maternity is, in fact, of supreme ethical and social importance, and maternal love and the fulfilment of maternal duties are beyond question the first prerequisites, not only for the healthy propagation of the species, but also for the necessary further development of social morality. Yet it is an undeniable fact that maternity in its varied manifestations, in respect alike of its duties and of its rights, is to-day subject to exaggeration to the point of caricature. Woman as mother, if she only has a husband, is as a rule far more highly esteemed than woman as the collaborator with man. Love of children often assumes unwholesome forms. Mothers are frequently to be blamed

[1] *Cf.* Ernst von Wolzogen *Das dritte Geschlecht*, Berlin, 1899, Eckstein, pp. 166 *et seq.*—Panegyrics upon such free motherhood have been written by many northern authors, sympathisers with the most advanced tendencies of the feminist movement. In Italy the poet Ada Negri is one of the leading advocates of such ideas. Consult her two articles, "Un figlio" and "Per un grido" in *Marzocco*, Anno xvi, Nos. 6 and 9.

for allowing their children to play far too great a part in the house, and even, it may be, to turn the whole house upside down. It cannot be doubted that mothers as a rule devote far too much time to their children; not so much to the proper upbringing of these, which is of the profoundest importance to the well-being of the coming generation, as to trifling practices, which are not merely superfluous, but are even harmful to the children.

It is owing to the current conception of the duties and rights of the mother, that women, even when the period of lactation is over, are apt to devote more attention to their children than to their husbands. No doubt a woman will then be ready to render her husband all those loving services which are appropriate to her rôle as wife; but she will never return to occupy the position in his life which, in normal cases, she occupied before the birth of the child.

If in this earlier stage of affairs the husband has become accustomed to make certain intellectual demands upon his wife, if before the birth of the child the two were spiritual comrades, the cleavage in the woman's life between her duties as wife and as mother will have its difficulties redoubled. For, in such a case, the difficulty is not really met by the wife's renunciation merely of those occupations in connection with her children which may reasonably be regarded as superfluous.

It is a sound contention that intellectual activity may be pursued by a capable woman in every condition of life, even though the mere pursuit of pleasure is incompatible with many such conditions. A woman who suckles her own child, observes the Countess d'Agoult, may meditate with Plato and

steep her mind in Descartes; this will not impair the quality of her milk. "Mais qu'elle se pare, se farde, veille, danse, intrigue, son sang s'échauffe, sa bile s'irrite, ses mamelles tarissent, son enfant pâlit."[1]

Nevertheless, in practical daily life, the mother must not allow herself to be too greatly distracted from her maternal duties by Plato or by Descartes. The work, the cares, and the fatigue which children involve are so unending, children make such extensive claims upon the mother's time, that a woman will almost always find herself compelled by the force of circumstances, not by any natural wrong-headedness or short-sightedness, to curtail her intellectual cultivation, and to neglect her husband mentally if not physically.

Thus the life of the woman who is at once wife and mother exhibits a profound cleavage, and the more ideal and the more intimate her love for her husband, the more numerous and the more complex the intellectual threads by which the two are bound together, the more distressing and inexorable will be the inevitable conflict. So many hours of every day must be devoted to the children, and all these hours will be lost for the work previously performed in intellectual partnership with her husband. Whatever the nature of their collaboration, maternity will involve, if not a decline in the intellectual force of that collaboration, at least a decline in the practical possibilities of its exercise.

[1] "But if a woman decks herself out, paints her face, sits up at night, dances, and engages in intrigue, her blood becomes heated, her liver irritable, her breasts become dry, her child thin and pale." Daniel Stern (Comtesse Marie d'Agoult) "Esquisses Morales, Pensées sur les femmes," *Revue Indépendante*, Anno. VII., vol. ii., p. 193. Paris, 1847.

The dilemma with which the wife as mother is faced may be expressed in terms of the question, "How can I harmonise my duties as my husband's companion with my duties as mother of my children? and if harmony is impossible, to which duties shall I give the preference?" To most women, the answer to such a question is after all an easy matter, owing to the fact that they have few intellectual interests or none at all in common with their husbands. All that most women have to care about is that in their devotion to their children they should leave enough time available to meet their husbands' demands in the matter of "social duties." Even the second question, involving the conflict between woman as mother and woman as lover, will not give much difficulty to the average woman, permeated as she is by the conventional ideas of her day upon marriage and motherhood, so that without any trouble or sense of self-reproach she will allow her maternal impulses to get the better of those of her erotic life.

Far more difficult, in practice, is the dilemma between the woman as a creature with intellectual aspirations and the woman as mother. The simplest solution of this problem is to be well-to-do. The mother has her child suckled by another woman. Apart, however, from the fact that most young married people lack the means which would enable them to adopt this short cut, even when the way is open, it by no means liberates the mother from the cleavage in her sentiments, for the principal foundation of the conflict is the clash between two different feelings of love, and only in a secondary sense is it concerned with the clash between two opposing duties.

Should the solution of the difficulty by way of

wealth be unattainable, or, if attainable, repugnant to serious-minded women among the well-to-do, we have to bear in mind that there is yet another way by which a woman may be freed from her internal struggles. Clara Zetkin,[1] socialist and advocate of woman's emancipation, has shown in another connection of what enormous importance it would be to attain to a harmony between the professional duties and the maternal duties by a change from the existing practice in accordance with which the husband spends the greater part of his waking life away from home, so that the father should be enabled to give effective assistance to the mother in the upbringing of the children and in the management of the household. Such a division of labour would offer undeniable advantages for the man, for whom it would involve an enlargement and diversification of his mental horizon; indirectly also it would advantage the average woman by giving her husband an understanding of the nature and extent of feminine domestic duties, of which at present in most cases he has but a very vague idea.

The slight social consideration paid to woman as housewife is a logical outcome of the small respect the man has for the domestic services of his wife. In continental legal codes the obligation is laid upon the husband to guarantee his wife's maintenance in return for the services she renders as housewife and mother. This legal regulation implies no more than the most elementary recognition of the housewife as one who also creates values, and as one who therefore also belongs to the category of *homo œconomicus*—as one

[1] Clara Zetkin, *Geistiges Proletariat, Frauenfrage, und Sozialismus* ("The Intellectual Proletariat, the Woman's Question, and Socialism"), p. 23. Verlag "Vorwaerts," Berlin, 1902.

who, even if she does not work in a factory or teach in a school, is none the less engaged in productive work. But the idea underlying this legal disposition is still extremely primitive in character, inasmuch as the value of the services thus rendered by the woman is estimated at the barest subsistence level. The English law does not even directly recognise the husband's elementary duty of maintenance. No obligation is imposed on the husband by that law to maintain his family as long as this is living under his roof. The wife in England has no legal right to demand money from her husband for housekeeping expenses; the law courts have no power to force the husband to pay anything of the kind. Only by demanding to be received into the workhouse can the wife set machinery in motion which will enforce this obligation upon her husband, and the step will only be effective if the wife is actually received into the workhouse. Legally the husband is invulnerable so long as his wife remains under his roof. Such facts as this are the necessary complement of a conception such as still obtains of the comparatively trifling value of a woman's domestic services.

If the husband should come to discharge a larger share than at present of the domestic duties, this would further redound directly to the wife's advantage, quite apart from the ideal advantages that would follow from her services being more justly appraised, by the lightening of her labours which would thus be effected, to the extent of largely relieving her from her present dilemma between her duties as mother and her duties as wife. There are, however, many who will regard such a proposal as altogether impracticable. They are mistaken. If men were to

spend less time in the restaurant, the public-house, the club, or wherever else they choose to waste their time and their money, the idea of their sharing in the domestic duties, especially in the matter of the upbringing of the children, would be far from impracticable. What is needed is a powerful movement of opinion to impose upon men of certain types juster views of what they owe their wives and their children. In the case of a great number of husbands such an ethical agitation would attain its end even to-day, so that in domestic life there would ensue a juster apportionment of rights and duties which would make that life a better one for both parties. No doubt many masculine occupations demand the partial or complete absence of the man from home for the whole of the day. In the case of women whose husbands are thus occupied there is no way out of the difficulty but through the deliberate choice of whether they prefer to devote themselves to their husband or to their children. In the inevitable cleavage between two duties, the lesser must always give way to the greater, unless both are in the end to be neglected. This is an old-established law of practical morality. The woman upon whom this choice is forced will follow the stronger love, while the weaker love, if not neglected, will at least be relegated to the second rank. We need be under no illusions about the matter; the weaker love will in most cases be the love for the husband—a fact for which he himself is as a rule largely responsible. Nor do I think it possible to maintain that in the conditions of life and love as they exist to-day the mother's choice can or ought to be a different one.

It is only in acute instances, and as a rule

transiently, that a woman will in actual fact have to choose between husband and child. Cases are rare in which, for example, the wife has to decide between accompanying her husband upon an expedition to Central Africa, and remaining at home to look after her children; or in which she has to choose between the care of her husband wounded in battle and unable to be moved, and the care of her children who simultaneously are sick at home. In normal life the dilemma will be less tragical, if not less complex. She will have to choose between the needs of husband and children, varying from time to time, and differing continually in intensity; and at the same time she will have to give due weight to the often conflicting claims of her own personal development.

APPENDIX.

From the 17th to the 20th of November, 1910, there was held in Florence, at the Biblioteca Filosofica, a small and select conference of seventy men and women, belonging to the most cultured circles of Italy, assembled to discuss the sexual problem.[1] The personnel of the conference was extremely varied: Catholic priests in their distinctive dress, Protestant clergymen, Jewish men of science, philosophers and medical practitioners, historians and economists, women of the most diverse intellectual tendencies, men of all parties from syndicalists to clericals, socialist deputies and high functionaries of state—all equally imbued with the necessity of removing the sexual question from the shadows of ignorance and pornography into the clear noonday light of truth; all bent on the serious examination of the various aspects of the problem, and upon the elucidation, to the utmost of their ability, of the manifold difficulties which it presents. To the writer, who has assisted at many congresses, the level of this Florentine conference seemed exceptionally high. In the discussions, conducted vivaciously but without loss of serenity, the most contradictory opinions were upheld with perfect clearness, and without any attempt at modification, yet always with the most courteous respect for the opinions of those who might differ from

[1] There is no shorthand report of the proceedings at this conference. The account published by Prezzolini in the *Voce*, Anno ii., No. 49, is incomplete.

the speaker. It was characteristic of the elevated tone of the conference from beginning to end that no idle digressions were tolerated by the members; almost with unanimity two of the speakers (one of them an elderly government employee in active service) were brusquely interrupted and constrained to silence simply because, notwithstanding their keen personal interest in the topic, they were diverging into the realms of the commonplace. It was owing to this purely objective severity that the congress exhibited a general tone so entirely devoid of prejudice, and that it was characterised by a harmonious synthesis of idealism and positivism, arousing a warm afflatus of noble enthusiasm, yet without ever departing from a strictly scientific basis.

The most important papers read at the congress were the following:—"Sexual Education at School," by Pio Foà; "Neomalthusianism," by M. Bossi; "The Celibacy of the Clergy," by Gennaro Avolio; "Rights and Ethical Limits of Sexuality," by the present writer; "Labour Organisations and the Sexual Question," by Paolo Orano.

None of the women present at the congress were found willing to venture upon opening any of the discussions, but a number of them took part in these. First may be mentioned Ersilia Majno Bronsini of Milan, one of the veteran fighters of the Italian feminist movement, and an experienced worker in the prophylaxis of prostitution, whose words were received with profound attention. Among the men who took an active part in the congress I may mention, in addition to those already named: Gaetano Salvemini, Giulio Casalini, whose speciality is the legal protection of motherhood; Luigi Berta, one of the principal Italian advocates of the neomalthusian idea; Edoardo Mariani; the Catholic philosopher, Salvatore

Minocchi; the priest, Don Fano; the painter, Anton Maria Mucchi; the writer on musical theory, Fausto Acamfora Torrefranca; Roberto Assagioli; Egilberto Martire; and Giuseppe Prezzolini, editor of the *Voce*, the soul of the congress, for whose inception and organisation he was responsible, and whose discussions he directed, though not as the official chairman. In their zeal, the members of the congress shunned no pains. On Sunday, sacred to repose, the discussion was continued for a good nine hours. The form of the debate was Italian in the best sense of the word, at once vivacious and elevated, serious and scientific.

A peculiarly characteristic feature of the congress was the agreement on the part of the great majority upon a matter which in other countries is usually regarded as utopian to a extent which puts it outside the possibility of discussion. I refer to the need of laying far more stress than has hitherto been the case, both as regards public sentiment and private relationships, upon the value of masculine chastity. This tendency found expression at the congress with what may be called an elementary force. Not only the young Catholic apostles and moralists of the Roman periodical *Vita*, who found a convinced and convincing advocate of their views in Egilberto Martire,[1] but also the group of young æsthetes and philosophers gathered round the *Voce* of Florence, and more particularly their leading speaker, Giuseppe Prezzolini and the neurologist Roberto Assagioli, lined up under the banner raised with a firm and vigorous hand by the senator, Pio Foà. Many and various were the reasons alleged in support of this thesis. The injustice of the practical inequality in the position of men and women as regards pre-conjugal

[1] For an authentic account of the ideas of this group of young Catholics, consult Egilberto Martire, *La Crisi dell'amore* ("The Crisis of Love"), Essays. Rome, 1910.

sexual experience, the duplex code of sexual morals, was unanimously regarded as an evil to be swept away by all possible means. There was also manifest a utilitarian current of thought, on the part of those to whom chastity seemed the only possible safeguard against the imminent danger of racial degeneration as the outcome of the increase in the morbid manifestations of the sexual life. In another direction the predominantly ethical tendency of the congress made itself manifest, namely, as concerns the celibacy of the priesthood. This matter has hitherto always been treated from the point of view of scandalous accusations and unjust generalisations, or else has been timorously left undiscussed as a *noli me tangere.* Here, at length, it was treated with a serious objectivity, and in a most sympathetic manner. Although the congress had among its members but a small minority of orthodox Catholics, the conclusion of the majority of those present, almost unanimous, indeed, was that celibacy ought never to be compulsory; yet they recognised that, considered in itself, individual sexual purity, as a means to a life of high apostolic aim, was not to be despised.

The postulate of human responsibility, by which the congress was swayed in favour of a higher level of masculine chastity, led also to the expression of a neomalthusian tendency. Luigi Maria Bossi, professor of gynecology at the University of Genoa, in his address on neomalthusianism, strongly condemned the employment of any and every artificial means for the prevention of births, among which means, oddly enough, he included chastity. But his argument, too much impregnated with the spirit of naturalistic materialism, was very coldly received. Philosophers and doctors, Catholics and Socialists, though from diverse standpoints, condemned the speaker's one-sided positivism, and agreed in the contention that it was immoral to

people the world with children whose procreators were unable to give them the necessary care, and, worse still, were unable to secure for them a bare subsistence.

The congress was merely deliberative in character, and did not proceed to pass any resolutions. This was as well, in view no less of its small size than of its heterogeneous composition. It was, in fact, as was intended from the first, rather a reunion of private individuals, representative of the most divergent points of view, and belonging to the most various political parties, than in any sense whatever an official deliberative body.

The new feature in this congress, the first of its kind in Italy, and successful in overcoming the primitive scepticism of the daily press and in arousing its sympathies, was the vigorous idealism that took the form of a conscious reaction against the materialism of our times —against that materialism which shuts its eyes to the sexual problem, and which has led even progressive minds to imagine that the whole question can be solved by the diffusion of medicated sponges and Parisian condoms, while the wide ethical implications of the matter are completely ignored. From this point of view, the congress declared war against all those whose consciences are appeased by the placing at the doors of every brothel of automatic machines for the supply of preventives. Taking for granted the existence of sexual rights, the congress was profoundly impressed with the need for throwing light upon the problem of sexual duties, and for raising the great question of the moral bearings of all the problems of the sexual life, and of the moral effect of the various solutions that have been proposed.

No one can deny the importance and utility of such questions as sexual education, the celibacy of the priesthood, and the artificial restriction of births. But it is

not sufficient merely to refrain from an action which we consider harmful. Physiology alone cannot provide us with any moral criterion. It does not suffice for us to know that this or that is more or less useful; we are not thereby enabled to guide our conduct in accordance with the fundamental principles of ethics. It is not enough to affirm that libertinage is *injurious*. What we want to know, and what we want to be able to prove, is that libertinage is *immoral*. This demonstration, involving as it does the recognition of an ethical imperative, is our task for the future.

This view is doubtless somewhat one-sided, and it was far from being shared by all those who took part in the congress. Yet it contains within itself an idealistic element which will render precious services such as could never be the outcome of a pure materialism.

INDEX.

ABBA, 263.
Abolition of prostitution, 115 *et seq.*
Abstinence, sexual, real and imaginary, 156.
Æsthetic postulate of sex, 229-31.
Agoult (*see* also Stern), 276, 277.
Aguilaniedo, 79.
Albert, 110, 191.
Alcove love in Italy, 68.
Alerama, 166.
Alexander VI., Pope, 227.
Allan, Maud, 51.
Allen, 191.
Alterocca, 6.
Arndt, 14.
Arzibascew, 33.
Assagioli, 162, 285.
Avolio, 284.

BALZAC, 21, 184, 229.
Basis of love, physical, 212 *et seq.*
Baum, 113.
Bax, 127.
Bayard, 164.
Beauty of the paternal instinct, 232-4.
Bebel, 112, 191.
Becque, 81, 83, 141.
Béranger, 83.
Berg, 271.
Berkusky, 49.
Berta, 284.
Berth, 192, 217.
Betrothal card, analysis of, 199 *et seq.*
—— morals of this state, 56-8.
—— problems of, 177-93.
Bible, the, 24.
Births, legitimate and illegitimate, 91 *et seq.*
Björnson, 145.
Blanc, 112.
Blaschko, 110, 145.
Blaze, 32.
Bloch, 87, 142.
Block, 96.
Böhme, 91.
Boileau, 78.
Bonomi, 58.
Borderland problems of betrothal, 177-93.
Bossi, 261, 262, 284, 286.
Bouffler, 228, 248.
Bracco, 225.
Brahms, 9.
Braun, 110, 112, 113, 182, 271.
Bretonne, 46, 59, 76, 151, 160, 164, 172.
Brieux, 82, 83.
Bronzini, 284.
Brothel workrooms, 94-6.
Brutalities of wedding night, 182-5.
Buret, 112.
Bürger, 150.
Burns, 256.

CABANIS, 256.
Candour in sexual matters, 8-14.

Carpenter, 259.
Carrara, Mario, 48.
Carrara, Paola, *see* Lombroso, Paola.
Casalini, 37, 263, 284.
Casanova, 59, 60.
Casti, 227, 256.
Celibacy of the priesthood, 161, 162.
Censorship, *see* Literature, erotic.
Chastity in men, its drawbacks to-day, 153 *et seq.*
Chastity, value and limits of, 134-76.
Chateaubriand, 147.
Child and husband, choice between, 281-2.
Child-mortality in large families, 235.
Children and the mother's name, 210-11.
Chitagawa, 88.
Choice between husband and child, 281-2.
Cicognani, 219.
Civilisation and conscious procreation, 249 *et seq.*
Classification of women as "prostitutes" and "respectable," 91 *et seq.*
Cocotte, 76.
Collaboration of husband in domestic life, 279-81.
Colombi, 31, 104.
Concealment of amatory life in Italy, 66-9.
Condé, 248.
Conflict between motherhood and intellectuality, 274 *et seq.*, 278 *et seq.*
Conflict between motherhood and profession, 265 *et seq.*
Conflict between wifehood and motherhood, 277 *et seq.*
Conscious procreation and the conquest of man over nature, 262-4.
Conscious procreation as a criterion of civilisation, 249 *et seq.*
—— —— a right as well as a duty, 241 *et seq.*
Conjugal procreation, its rights and its duties, 232-64.
Consent, mutual, essential to every moral sensual act, 35 *et seq.*
Conventional lies, *see* Lies.
—— restraints, *see* Restraints.
Corradini, 246.
Courteline, 52.
Coquetry, erotic, 121.
Culpability, contributory, of violated woman, 132.

D'Ambra, 93.
Dangers of abrupt transitions in sexual life, 177-85.
—— of free love, 186-93.
Dankberg, 15.
Daudet, 82, 222.
Delimitation, rigid, in sexual morality impossible, 90 *et seq.*
Demi-viergeisme in public dancing-saloons, 97-100.
Derys, 228.
Despreaux, 171.
Deutsch-German, 100, 188.
Diderot, 7.
Diseases, venereal, 149-51.
Dohm, 176.
Don Juan types, 140, 142.
Donnay, 53.
Dorn, 163.
Dualism of woman in primary sexual love, 120-33.
Duel of the sexes, 121.
Dumas, 144, 176.
Duplex morality, sexual, 135-6, 141 *et seq.*

Economic dependence of woman, 279-80.

Economics of conscious procreation, 244 *et seq.*
Education, sexual, 15-25.
—— dangers, 15, 16.
—— methods, 16-23.
—— sincerity in, 22, 23.
—— summary of views, 24, 25.
Ehrenfels, 151, 185, 213, 223, 263.
El, Mrs., 21.
Ellis, 49, 113, 114, 162, 185, 229.
Enlightenment, sexual, *see* Education.
Erotic coquetry, 121.
Erotic literature, *see* Literature.
—— needs, variations in, 169 *et seq.*
—— phraseology, *see* Phraseology.
—— pictures, *see* Pictures.
"Eternal mother," the type of, 237.
Ethical limitations, *see* Limitations.
Ethics of extra conjugal relationships, 134 *et seq.*
Equality, economic and sexual, and the abolition of prostitution, 119.
Extra-conjugal relationships, ethics of, 134 *et seq.*

FANO, 285.
Fantini, 236.
Ferrara, 64.
Ferrero, 51, 52, 73, 161.
Feudalism, persistence in Germany, 202 *et seq.*
Fischer, 105, 192.
Flaubert, 222.
Flesch, 39.
Foà, 284, 285.
Fontana, 64.
Foreign phraseology, *see* Phraseology.
Fournier, 39.
Frankenstein, 113.
Frankness in sexual matters, 8-14, 19.
Frapié, 23, 256.
Frati, 227.
Free-love, 57-8.
—— and marriage, 40.
—— dangers of, 186-93.
Frequency of child births, its unfortunate results, 235-6.

GAUTIER, 54, 144.
Genovesi, 266.
Georges-Renard, 12.
Gianotti, 219.
Gnauck-Kühne, 113.
Goncourt, 54, 82, 113, 114.
Gourmont, 220.
Gozlan, 75.
Grisette, the, 74 *et seq.*
Gröger, 164.
Grün, 182.
Guarini, 221.
Guglielmetti, 98.
Guglielminetti, 44, 45.
Gumplowicz, 191, 250, 251.
Gystrow, 142.

HABITUATION in the amatory life, 220 *et seq.*
Hamburger, 235.
Hammer, 112.
Hegar, 150.
Hehn, 13.
Heine, 13.
Hellpach, *see* Gystrow.
Herrmann, 213.
Hessen, 30, 111, 157.
Hetaira, the free, 88.
Hirschfeld, 256, 271.
Hirth, 185.
Hogg, 31, 117.
Holbach, 248.
Honorific titles of women, unmarried and married, 206-8.
"Honour," a woman's, 56-58.
Horace, 123.
Hunger and love, 26-41.

Husband and child, choice between, 281-2.
Hushing up, protest against, 2 *et seq.*
Huysmans, 109, 114.
Hyndman, 112.

IGNORANCE of women regarding male sexual impulse, 129 *et seq.*
Illegitimacy and legitimacy, 91 *et seq.*
Indecision, woman's, in face of the sexual act, 122 *et seq.*
Ingres, 50.
Intactness, masculine, and the general interest, 144 *et seq.*
Intellectuality and motherhood, conflict between, 274 *et seq.*, 278 *et seq.*
Intermediate stages of sexual morality in woman, 90-101.
Isolation of the love pair, reasons for, 60-62.

JELLINECK, 110.
Jingoes against conscious procreation, 246-9.
Jingoism and prostitution, 116-9.
Jona, 168.

KAHLENBERG, 179.
Kaiser, 45.
Kant, 40.
Kautsky, 237.
Kingsley, 112.
Kleist, 166.
Kock, 75, 76.
Krafft-Ebing, 150, 220.
Kromayer, 112.
Kropotkine, 33.

LANDRE, 122, 226.
Lanzillo, 192.
La Rochefoucauld, 228
Law, moral, Kant's fundamental, 41.
Legitimacy and illegitimacy, 91 *et seq.*
Lemonnier, 45.
Libertine's view of women, 214 *et seq.*
Lies, conventional, their avoidance in sexual education, 22, 23.
Limitation of the family, an ethical need, 234 *et seq.*
Limitations, ethical, of right to sexual activity, 34 *et seq.*
Limits and value of chastity, 134-176.
Literature, erotic, its rights and limits, 1-6.
Lorette, the, 76.
Liszt, 40.
Lombroso, Cesare, 33, 48, 51, 52, 73, 108, 113, 220.
Lombroso, Paola, 20, 33.
Lorenzoni, 31.
Loria, 252, 253.
Love, international character of, 63-4.
Love, international multiplicity of its manifestations, 63-4.
Love, physical basis of, 212 *et seq.*
Love, primary sexual, woman's dualism in, 120-133.
Love, publicity of in Germany and Holland, 64-5.
Love-act, need for isolation in, 60-2.
Love-act, shame in, 58-60.
Low-cut dresses and shame, 55, 56.

"MADONNA TYPE," 214.
Magdallan, 82.
Maid, old, *see* "Old maid."
Malon, 186.
Marcuse, 187.
Marguerite de Valois, 151.
Margueritte, 93.
Mariani, 284.
Marriage and disease, 149-51.

Marriage and free-love, 40.
Marriage as the ideal, 192.
Marriage, difficulties of, 265-82.
Marriage, early, among proletariat, 103 *et seq.*
Marriage, monotony of, 138-9.
Marriage, postponed among possessing classes, 105 *et seq.*
Marriage, woman's subjection in, 194-211.
Martire, 285.
Marx, 33.
Masochism, 122 *et seq.*
Maupassant, 32, 59, 133, 154, 164, 189, 223.
Mayreder, 271.
Meiner, 29.
Meisel-Hess, 175, 182, 191.
Mélinaud, 46.
Mendès, 52.
Mercier, 76.
Mesnil, 186, 191.
Messina earthquake, 33.
Middle Ages, physical love regarded as absolutely necessary, 29, 30.
Militarists against conscious procreation, 246-9.
Minocchi, 285.
Mirbeau, 51, 110.
Modesty in different classes, 54-56.
—— in relation to advance of civilisation, 48.
—— origin of, 42.
—— *see* also Shame, nature and limits of, 42-62.
Molière, 52, 53, 78, 82.
Monbart, 179.
Monogamy as a sexual ideal, 137.
Montaigne, 2, 3, 184.
Montépin, 76.
Montesquieu, 78, 81, 82, 185, 225.
Moralisation of erotic life by frankness, 8-14.
Morality, duplex sexual, 135-6, 141 *et seq.*
Moral law, *see* Law.
Morelli, 92.
Mosca, 160, 161.
Motherhood and intellectuality, conflict between, 274 *et seq.*, 278 *et seq.*
—— and profession, conflict between, 265 *et seq.*
—— and wifehood, conflict between, 277 *et seq.*
Mucchi, 285.
Müller, 12, 67, 111.
Multatuli, 274.
Murger, 75, 160.
Murri, 36, 37.
Musset, 75, 121, 189.
Mutual consent, *see* Consent.

NATURALNESS in sexual questions, 8-14.
Naumann, 251.
Needs, erotic, variations in, 169 *et seq.*
Negri, 275.
Nero, 271.
Niceforo, 98, 104.
Nietsche, 34,
Nieuwenhuis, 145.
Nobis, 114.
Non-existence of the unconceived infant, 242.
Notari, 114.
Nystroem, 149.

OBSCENITY, *see* Literature, erotic.
Olberg, 113, 261.
Old maid of the proletariat, prostitute as the, 102-119.
Orano, 284.
O'Rell, 127.
Ovid, 123.

PAOLA, 171.
Paris, prostitution in, 72 *et seq.*

Paternal instinct, beauty of, 232-4.
Pelletier, 109.
Pérouse, 47.
Petrai, 98, 100.
Phraseology, erotic, 6-8.
—— foreign, in matters erotic, 6-8.
Physical basis of love, 212 *et seq.*
Pietri-Tonelli, 252.
Piron, 212.
Plehn, 49
Podrecca, 190.
Polygamy as the fountain of youth, 140-1.
—— masculine tendency to, 222 *et seq.*
—— natural, of the male, 137-8.
Popp, 265.
Population question, the, 244 *et seq.*
Pornography, *see* Literature.
Postponement of marriage to restrict the birth-rate, 252-7.
Poverty and improvident procreation, 234.
—— and prostitution, 108 *et seq.*
Pregnancy, retarded, its desirability, 239-41.
Prevention of conception, *see* Conscious procreation.
Preventive intercourse and crime, 261.
Prévost, 54, 83, 173, 179, 183, 186, 225, 226.
Prezzolini, 263, 283, 285.
Priesthood, celibacy of, 161, 162.
Problems of betrohal, 177-93.
Procreation, conjugal, its rights and its duties, 232-64.
Procreation, conscious, *see* Conscious procreation.
—— responsibility for, 234 *et seq.*
Profession and motherhood, conflict between, 265 *et seq.*
Progress of sexual love, 218 *et seq.*
Proletariat, need for early marriage among, 103 *et seq.*
—— old maids rare in, 102 *et seq.*
—— prostitute the old maid of the, 102-19.
Prosperi, 164.
Prostitute, comradely type of, 74 *et seq.*
—— shame in the, 51, 52.
—— the, as old maid of the proletariat, 102-19.
Prostitution, abolition of, 115 *et seq.*
—— definition of, 87.
—— etiology of, 107 *et seq.*
—— in various countries, 71-89.
—— "respectable," 94 *et seq.*
—— supplementary, 94-100.
"Prudential restraint" in married life to restrict the birth-rate, 257 *et seq.*
Psychology, comparative sexual, in various countries, 63-89.
"Pure" woman, unwholesome craving for, 214.
Purity, masculine, the demand for, 144 *et seq.*

RAPE, 126 *et seq.*
Responsibility for procreation, 234 *et seq.*
—— in erotic relationships, 131.
Restraints, conventional, abandonment of, 30-3.
Richardson, 6, 188.
Richepin, 234.
Right to sexual activity, ethical limitations of, 34 *et seq.*
—— to sensuality, 152.
Rights of woman, awakening consciousness of, 198.
Rolland, 82.

Romances of Parisian life, exaggerated, 81-3.
Rosny, 157, 222.
Rosselli-Pincherle, 166.
Rousseau, 53, 81, 151, 189, 219, 225.
Rutgers, 225, 247.

SADISTIC note in the sport of the sexes, 122 *et seq.*
Salvemini, 284.
Sardou, 139, 144, 148.
Schleiermacher, 176.
Schneider, 72.
Schnitzler, 54, 221.
Schultze, 253.
Schwann, 191.
Serao, 29.
Sex, æsthetic postulate of, 229-31.
Sexual act, need for isolation in, 60-2.
—— —— shame in, 58-60.
—— education, *see* Education.
—— love an end in itself, 258 *et seq.*
—— problem, Italian Congress of 1910, 283-8.
—— psychology, *see* Psychology.
Shame (*see* also Modesty) not instinctive but acquired, 43.
—— and the evil eye, 49 *note.*
—— as a desire to conceal our animal origin, 46-8.
—— in relation to sight and to touch, 45.
—— in savages, 48.
—— in the sexual act, 58-60.
—— occasional, and professional shamelessness, 49-54.
—— of unclothing, 120.
Shamelessness as a manifestation of frigidity, 45, 46.
—— of women, instinctive, 43, 44.
Shamelessness, professional, and occasional shame, 49-54.
Shandha, 91.
Shoals in the waters of married life, 265-82.
Sighele, 98.
Simmel, 225.
Sinclair, 174.
Skram, 148, 182.
Socci, 33.
Social problem, the, 194 *et seq.*
Sorel, 192.
Sphere of sexual life, its progressive enlargement, 218 *et seq.*
Stern, 277.
Stages, intermediate, *see* Intermediate.
State of nature, love in, 26-8.
St. Méry, 221.
Strelzow, 33.
Subjection of women in marriage, 194-211.
Superstition and manifestations of apparent shame, 49 *note.*

TALMEYR, 30, 111, 119, 225.
Tartufari, 172.
Terminology, *see* Phraseology.
Torrefranca, 285.
Tovote, 166.
Transitional types to prostitution, 90-101.
Transitions, abrupt, in sexual life, dangers of, 177-85.

UNCLOTHING, shame of, 120.
Urgency of sexual need displayed in popular catchwords, 28-9.

VALERA, 114.
Valois, Marguerite de, 159, 160.
Value and limits of chastity, 134-76.
Vanderburgh, 164.

Variations in erotic needs, 169 *et seq.*
Variety in sex relationships, 226 *et seq.*
Venereal diseases, 149-51.
Vera, 145.
Verga, 111, 164.
Vernières, 77, 111.
Verus, 272.
Vezzani, 58.
Viazzi, 128.
Virginity in women, demand for, 162 *et seq.*
Vischer, 4, 10, 44, 231.
Vivacity in conjugal relationships, 228 *et seq.*
Voltaire, 218.
Voss, 185.

WAR and sexuality, 31-3.
Weber, 270.
Wedding, conventional immoralities of, 185.
—— night, brutalities of, 182-5.
Weininger, 44.
Weule, 47.
Widmann, 9.
Wieland, 259.
Wifehood and motherhood, conflict between, 277 *et seq.*
Wilbrandt, 58, 113.
Winkler, 39.
Wolf, Julius, 251.
Wolff, Theodor, 85.
Wolzogen, 275.
Woman's change of name on marriage, 208-10.
—— dualism in primary sexual love, 120-33.
—— honorific titles before and after marriage, 206-8.
—— indecision in face of the sexual act, 123 *et seq.*
—— subjection in marriage, 194-211.
Women classified as "prostitutes" and "respectable," 91 *et seq.*
Working classes, *see* Proletariat.
Wustmann, 116.

YOSHIWARA, the, 88.

ZETKIN, 179.
Zola, 114, 256.

WELLCOME LIBRARY INSTITUTE

THE WALTER SCOTT PUBLISHING CO., LTD., FELLING-ON-TYNE.

9c